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NARRATIVE

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

RELATING TO THE

SUSPENSION

of the

KING OF THE FRENCH,

ON

THE 10TH OF AUGUST, 1792.

By J. B. D'AUMONT.

MANCHESTER:

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M,DCC,XCII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I Received the narrative now preſented to the public, accompanied by a letter, of which the following is an extract. "I am ſenſible that the reports circulated in "England will be perfectly contrary to the truth; and "as it is of great conſequence to correct any falſe im-"preſſions, which thoſe accounts may have occaſioned, "I think a letter from an *eye witneſs* will have a good "effect. I wiſh you to amend the Engliſh, which I "know to be very defective, and to add any obſervations "that may occur to you, but not to alter any of the facts, "as I have rigidly adhered to the truth."

I have no doubt of the fidelity and correctneſs of this narrative, and I have ſtrictly complied with my correſpondents requeſt, in adding ſome explanatory obſervations, but leaving the facts as he has related them.

T. COOPER.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

relating to the

SUSPENSION

OF THE

KING OF THE FRENCH.

PARIS, 15th Auguſt, 1792

AS I can eaſily conceive your impatience to be acquainted with all the particulars of the memorable day of the 10th—I haſten to gratify your curioſity. In order to render the detail more intereſting, and to prevent you from forming erroneous ideas reſpecting the cauſes which produced the events of that day, I ſhall precede it with a ſhort account of the State of Politics here for theſe two months paſt, you will ſee from thence that this inſurrection of the people, has not been the work of any faction, but the effect of general indignation againſt the treacherous conduct of Louis XVI.

It would be unneceſſary to remount higher in this narrative, than the diſmiſſion of the patriot miniſters, Roland, Servan, and Claviere, in conſequence of the King's refuſing to ſign the decrees for the tranſportation of the refractory prieſts, and the formation of a camp near Paris.—Not that the conduct of the Executive power does not furniſh abundant proofs of treachery prior to that period, but the nation had till then either been blind to it, or had indulgently ſuppoſed the different allegations againſt him to be dubious at moſt. The letter of the miniſter, Roland, upon quitting his place, effectually opened the eyes of the people and ſhewed them the precipice to which they were haſtening.

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From that moment their confidence in the Executive Power has gradually diminiſhed; indeed the conduct of the King ſince that period, has been one continued inſult to the Nation; no ſingle meaſure has been taken by him to regain its confidence, but all his actions have been in direct oppoſition to the public will. The miniſters he has choſen, have been men either not known at all, or known only by their anti-patriotic ſentiments, and when one ſet of them has been forced by the public indignation to reſign, he has ſtill kept them for weeks in their places, *being then no longer liable to reſponſibility*, under the pretence he could not meet with others able to ſucceed them. When at length it became impoſſible to retain them longer, they have been replaced by men equally obnoxious. He has conſtantly treated with contempt, the cry of the People for the recall of the Patriot Miniſters, even the petition of the 20th June, could not induce him to alter his conduct. The firmneſs and courage which he ſhewed on that day, had gained him many friends, and perſuaded many of his enemies, that though miſtaken, he was ſincere: But the whole effect was deſtroyed by his *infamous proclamation* of the day following, in which he endeavoured to light the torch of civil war, to ſtir up the royaliſts againſt the republicans, and the provinces againſt the capital, by falſely repreſenting the petition of the 20th as an attempt to aſſaſſinate him, and to ſubvert the conſtitution; whilſt the notorious fact was that the people did not take up arms until they had poſitive information that orders were given to the National Guards to fire upon them; and even then they committed no violence, except in forcing open a door which prevented their acceſs to the King. Is it rational to ſuppoſe that if they had any intention of aſſaſſinating him, they would not have done it, when he perſiſted in his refuſal to ſanction the deſired Decrees, and when he was completely in their power?

The nation in general approved of the conduct of the *Sans Cullotes*, ſaw through the deteſtable deſign of this proclamation, which was too groſsly contrived to be miſtaken, and treated it with the contempt it deſerved. However, the members of the Department of Paris, and thoſe of two or three Northern Departments which had been long openly devoted to the Court, and compoſed of creatures of the civil Liſt, ſeized this opportunity of warmly ſeconding its

views;

views; the Departments of the Somme and of the Judre wrote ſtrong ariſtocratical addreſſes to the aſſembly, and the former unconſtitutionally ſent a deputation to the King, promiſing the aſſiſtance of all their National Guards, enjoining their deputies to tranſmit them regular accounts of what was going forward, and to die, if neceſſary, in defence of their Sovereign; and though the aſſembly annulled their decree, and declared the meaſure they had taken to be contrary to the conſtitution, which prohibits all communication between the King and the Departments, he ſtill had the imprudence to have it reprinted in his own preſſes, and diſtributed to the Departments and Army.

Another conſequence of the Proclamation was the ſuſpenſion of Petion the Mayor of Paris, and of Manual the *Procureur de la Commune*, by an infamous Decree of the Department of Paris, neither ſigned nor regiſtered as uſual,—The people were enraged almoſt to madneſs at being deprived of their Virtuous Mayor, who was charged with no other crime than that of having refuſed to give orders to the National Guards to fire upon the people, and having prevented Paris from being deluged with the Blood of its Citizens. The King perceiving the fermentation which this affair occaſioned, wanted to get rid of it by refering it to the aſſembly, but the aſſembly declared that it did not come under its cognizance conſtitutionally, until the King had confirmed or negatived it. It ſeems as if all ſort of prudence, all ſort of reſpect for the public opinion had now totally forſaken the infatuated Monarch, for giving way to the Dictates of his private hatred, he confirmed the decree of the ſuſpenſion, regardleſs of the *unanimous* demand of the Sections of Paris. The indignation of the People was ſo great, that had not the aſſembly immediately annulled the whole Proceedings, and reſtored Petion to his Functions, the day of the Federation would have been rendered memorable by their Vengeance, and the proceedings of the 10th of Auguſt have been unneceſſary. Whilſt all this was paſſing at Paris, the Armies, victorious upon the Frontiers, had penetrated into the Enemies Country, and already taken poſſeſſion of Courtray, when they received orders from the King to retreat, and in retreating, ſet fire to the Fauxburgs under pretence that the Citizens had fired upon them, which was not true.* The Nation conſidered

* Upon this occaſion the National Aſſembly ſet the honourable example of awarding an indemnity to the Sufferers.

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conſidered this retreat at a moment when the Belgians were ready to declare for them, (as appears from the declaration of their Countryman to the National Aſſembly), as an avowal on the part of the King, that they were not to puſh their Conqueſts to injure the Enemy; that thoſe of the Belgians who had received them with open arms, were to be abandoned to the fury of the Auſtrians, and to be irritated againſt the French ſo as never more to be their friends. In fact, the ſavage Jarry who ſet fire to the Fauxbourgs, ſtill maintains his rank in the army, and has had no puniſhment inflicted upon him. Such is the way, ſays the Patriot Iſnard, in which the Court of the Thuileries avenges the Houſe of Auſtria, for the Inſurrection of the unfortunate Belgians. The only excuſe alledged by the miniſters for ordering the retreat was, that the army was not ſufficiently ſtrong; but this very excuſe furniſhed a freſh ground for the public indignation againſt Louis XVIth. For why had he not choſen proper miniſters to fulfil the Decrees of the Aſſembly, and to make up the Compliment of men long before voted by it? Why had his miniſters deceived the public with regard to the ſtate of the Army, if it was not with the treacherous deſign of rendering it more eaſy to the enemy to obtain an advantage over them?

Fifty-two Thouſand Pruſſians were already upon the Frontiers, and no notification had been made by the King to the Aſſembly of their hoſtile intentions, as he was bound to do even by the *letter* of the Conſtitution; moſt probably he meant to have been ſilent reſpecting them, until it was too late to take the proper meaſures of defence, if a Decree had not obliged him to ſend official notice.

The King of Sardinia was known to be making great preparations for war; yet Louis XVIth. ſo far from informing the Aſſembly of them, had ordered General Montiſquiou, who commanded with very inferior forces on the frontiers of Savoy, to detach twenty Battalions to join the army of the Rhine, which was in no immediate danger; but Monteſquiou, probably by the advice of the neighbouring departments, who conſidered this meaſure as intended to favour a projected attempt of the enemy upon Lyons, only complied in part with the orders he had received, by detaching ten Battalions, and completely juſtified his conduct at the Bar of the Aſſembly.

Addreſſes

Addreſſes were alſo received about this time from the frontier towns of the department of the North, complaining that the Court by ordering the retreat of the army, had left them defenceleſs and expoſed to the daily cruelties and pillage of the Auſtrians, who had taken poſſeſſion of Bavay, and might have penetrated farther into the Country, *if their own men had not began to deſert in ſuch numbers, that they found it prudent to retire.*

You may conceive how much all theſe acts of treachery ſerved to inflame the public mind, and rouſe their indignation at ſeeing themſelves ſo openly betrayed.

However, the King little profiting by the marks of public joy upon the reſtoration of Petion, or thoſe of univerſal deteſtation which he and the Queen had experienced on the day of the Federation, ſtill kept his garden of the Thuileries ſhut up in ſullen ſulkineſs. For the opening of this garden to the public, like the gates of the Temple of Janus, announced his hoſtile or peaceable intentions, his good or bad humour. It is probable, that had he at this time made any propitiatory ſacrifice to the people, he might yet have regained their confidence; for numbers were ſtill diſpoſed to attribute his errors to his evil counſellors.

The Country was now declared to be in danger, and that danger was allowed on all hands to proceed more from the treaſon of the executive power, than from the progreſs of the external enemies.—Vergniaud, Condorcet, Briſſot, and other members of the Aſſembly, had already began to agitate, though but feebly, the queſtion of the King's depoſition; the people out of doors took it up more warmly; and the idea gained ground rapidly; but the fear of touching the conſtitution ſtill kept them within bounds. The Federates, who had come from the provinces to Paris to aſſiſt at the 14th of July, were all ſtrong republicans; and feeling the abſolute neceſſity of ſome deciſive alteration, appeared determined not to quit the Capital until a change in the government was effected: for ſuch indeed were the general wiſhes of their fellow-citizens. They regularly attended the debates of the Aſſembly; and their preſence gave a ſtimulus to the Pariſians, nearly wearied out by the perſevering oppoſition of the ariſtocratic party, ſupported by the *enormous influence of the civil liſt.*

A report

A report had prevailed for ſome time, that the King cauſed arms to be privately conveyed into the Chateau of the Thuileries, and that the guards were doubled and triplet. The garden ſtill continuing to be ſhut up gave credit to this report; and thoſe who had been able to look into the courts of the Thuileries had obſerved an unuſual number of Cannon. It was notorious, that the King's Guards, though *diſbanded* for their anti-civic principles, *were ſtill in the pay of the Court;* that many of them, as well as of the *Chevaliers du Poignard* *, compoſed of the ci-devant nobles and clergy, had diſguiſed themſelves under the uniform of the National Guards, and had tickets of free admiſſion to the Palace. A Regiment of Swiſs Guards, which under various pretexts was detained at Paris, in direct oppoſition to a decree of the Aſſembly, which had ordered their removal from thence; and a few Battalions of National Guards were known alſo to be devoted to the King's ſervice. In fact, he was ſurrounded by none but ſuſpicious perſons; and not a ſingle Patriot was ſuffered to approach him. Theſe hoſtile preparations were not ſeen with indifference by the Federates and the people of the Fauxbourg's.—On the night of the 26th of July, the Tocſin was ſounded all over Paris, and the people aſſembled in immenſe numbers with the intention of viſiting the Chateau.

They were already in march for the Thuileries, when they were met by the vigilant Petion, who prevailed upon them to diſperſe, promiſing that the Municipality would viſit the Palace, and that their Repreſentants would do them juſtice. The King was terrified but did not alter his conduct. On the 30th of July, five hundred federates from Marſeilles, who had been detained on the road to ſuppreſs the rebellion of Du Saillant, *carried on in the name of the King*, arrived at Paris. All ſorts of injuries had been thrown on theſe brave Warriors by the Ariſtocratic Journals before their arrival, becauſe their republican principles were well known. They were repreſented as a ſet of Robbers and Banditti, who had carried deſolation wherever they paſſed, in order to prepoſſeſs the Pariſians againſt them, and ſow the ſeeds of diſcord. However, the Fauxburg St. Antoine by which they entered, received

* Knights of the Dagger—The Ariſtocrats, ſo called from many of them making a practice of carrying theſe weapons about them.

received them with open Arms, and invited them to partake of a fraternal repaſt in the Elyſian fields. They accepted the invitation, and having left their fire arms at their Barracks, repaired to the feaſt; little did they dream of the reception which the treacherous Court had prepared for them. They had ſcarely begun to refreſh themſelves from the fatigue of a tedious journey, and to forget the dangers of a civil war amidſt the hearty welcome of their Pariſian Brethren, when they were diſturbed by the news that they and the nation were inſulted by a number of the *ci-devant King's Guards*, of the ſuſpected companies of National Grenadiers, and other noted Ariſtocrats met together in an adjoining Tavern, who after toaſting the King, Queen, and La Fayette, had drank damnation to the Nation and to the Marſeillois. Fired with indignation at this unexpected inſult, and animated with the remembrance of their former Exploits at Arles, at Avignon and Jales, againſt the ſame perfidious Enemy, the brave Marſeillois drew their ſabres, and ruſhed out in ſearch of their inſolent adverſaries. They found them ranged in order of battle, and armed with piſtols to receive them, but the ſight of the Marſeillois ſtruck them with inſtant terror, and inſtead of a diſcharge, they were received by the cries of *Vive la Nation, Vive les Fœderes*. They denied having made uſe of any opprobrious expreſſions, and, on the contrary, aſſured the Fœderates of their civic principles. The Marſeillois, deceived, ſhook hands with them, and as they were in danger from the ſurrounding populace, who had heard their infamous toaſts, *they took them under their protection and were eſcorting them to the Town*, when ſuddenly on their arrival at the place of Louis XV.—the treacherous villains ſeparated themſelves from their protectors, and fired their piſtols at them. The greater part of the Marſeillois not ſuſpecting any danger, had returned to their dinner; and thoſe who remained were inferior in number to their opponents, but inſpired by their wonted courage, they inſtantly fell upon them, ſword in hand, killed one, wounded ſeveral, and put the reſt to a pricipitate flight. They ran towards the Thuilieries, from which they probably had expected aſſiſtance from the Swiſs guards. They were without difficulty admitted to the King's apartment, who himſelf wiped the blood off their faces, and condoled with them on their miſhap. Their wounds

were bound up by the tender hands of the Maids of Honour, in their own and the Queen's apartments; one of the Maids of Honour, who was diſconſolate for the ſuppoſed loſs of her huſband, was comforted by the Queen, who aſſured her *that he was not of the party.* The Chateau was quickly filled with the Chevaliers du poignard, &c. who ran thither at the firſt news of this event. All this was certified at the bar of the National Aſſembly, by the centinels on duty at the King's apartments; by the depoſition of numerous by-ſtanders in the Elyſian Fields, and place of Louis XV. and but equivocally denied by the parties themſelves.

Every body ſaw in this affair a preconcerted plan of the court to embroil the Marſeillois with the Pariſians, and, indeed, no doubt could remain, when the following day the King publiſhed a letter to his commiſſary at the criminal court to proſecute them, and iſſued another proclamation deploring the ſtate of Anarchy of the capital, and the horrors committed with impunity on the lives and properties of the Pariſians. This was making himſelf Judge in the cauſe in which he was known to be a party, it was proclaiming the Marſeillois as aſſaſſins and robbers, and calculated to perſuade all Europe, that Paris was converted into a neſt of murderers and banditti at the time when not a thread of property had been violated, and the perſonal ſecurity of no peaceful citizen was in the ſmalleſt danger.

The Marſeillois in their defence preſented a petition to the Aſſembly, in which they requeſted merely a fair trial by Jury, and that they might remain as hoſtages at Paris until it was finiſhed.—" When, ſaid they, ſome patriots were " murdered under the paſſages of the Louvre, they were " not carried into the King's houſe, the King's wife did not " offer the key of her apartment, the Maids of Honour " did not wipe off their blood, no letter was written by the " King to haſten the puniſhment of their aſſaſſins, no *pro-* " *clamation iſſued* to prejudice the public againſt them;—yet " they were Frenchmen, and their blood had flowed within " the walls of the King's palace, as well as that of theſe " men, *but they were patriots.*" It did not paſs unobſerved, that this ſame King, who was ſo tender of the ſafety of a few inſolent diſturbers of the public peace, had been perfectly ſilent upon the inſurrection at Arles, upon the rebellion of Du Saillant, upon the ſecret conſpiracy of Lyons,

upon

upon the more open one of Marſeillois, in which ſo many perſons were and ſtill are compriſed, and upon the troubles excited by ſeditious prieſts at Bourdeaux. I can ſcarcely deſcribe to you how much this laſt meaſure increaſed the public indignation, againſt the weak and obſtinate Monarch; but no leſſon would reform him.

A circumſtance which happened at this time, is ſo ſtriking a proof of the progreſs of reaſon among the French, and of their deteſtation of the court, that I cannot avoid mentioning it, The Aſſembly apprehending ſome treacherous deſign from the ſide of the garden of the Thuileries, had decreed conformably to the conſtitution, that the terrace of the Feuillans adjoining to the hall, came under it's juriſdiction. Accordingly this part of the garden was immediately opened to the public, who, proud of their new acquiſition, flocked thither in great numbers. On the firſt day numerous bodies of national guards were ſtationed at the different deſcents leading to the other parts of the garden, to prevent the public from entering his Majeſty's territory. The people who were provoked at ſeeing ſuch precautions taken, treated them with inſult and ridicule, and the guards feeling the unworthineſs of the ſervice on which they were poſted, left it the next day, having firſt drawn a ribband acroſs the paſſages, with theſe words, " Citizens reſpect yourſelves, and give to this feeble barrier the force of baſtions and of bayonets." Strange to ſay, all the citizens that entered, approached, read, and retired from the hoſtile territory with contempt. Not one would degrade himſelf by entering the garden of the deſpicable monarch, and theſe ſimple ribbands repelled the indigent populace of Paris for upwards of a fortnight. Oh Louis! if thy deteſtable counſellors had but left thee a moment's reflection, thou mighteſt here have read thy fate inſcribed in ſtrong and glaring characters.

But to return from this digreſſion. La Fayette ever ſince his letter read at the Aſſembly 18th June, and his ſubſequent appearance at the bar of the Aſſembly, back'd by the petitions of his army, had divided the public hatred with his *beloved* King. The clamour againſt this always ſuſpicious perſonage, became now from day to day more violent and inceſſant. Scarcely a ſitting of the Aſſembly paſſed, without ſeveral petitions being read, requeſting a decree of accu-

ſation againſt him, but his friends ſtill found means to poſtpone the diſcuſion, and to adjourn the deciſion. Latterly, the petitions contained a double object, that of the depoſition of the King, joined to the impeachment of La Fayette, and they became daily more numerous and more forcible. The King, alarmed at the one which he knew was to be preſented in the name of the City of Paris, ſeized the pretext of the rediculouſly inſolent manifeſto of the Duke of Brunſwick, to write to the Aſſembly with freſh proteſtations of his zeal and attachment to the conſtitution. But the manifeſto of the Duke, and the letter of the King were treated by the public with equal contempt. He had now totally forfeited the confidence of the people, and repentance, even if ſincere, was now too late.

Immediately after the reading of his letter to the Aſſembly, Petion appeared at the bar, and preſented a ſtrong and energetic petition in the name of the *Commune* (the City) of Paris, which had been adopted by 47 out of the 48 ſections of Paris, and in moſt part of them, unanimouſly. After tracing the repeated treaſons of the chief of the executive powers, and the too great indulgence of the nation, they ſolicited the depoſition of the King, and the convocation of the Primary Aſſemblies to eſtabliſh a national convention which ſhould regulate the future form of government. Theſe they conſidered as the only meaſures capable of ſaving the country. Their petition was ſeconded by equally ſtrong ones from the Federates, in the name of their brethren of the Departments, and from the *Sans Culottes*, in their own names, who, moreover demanded the abolition of the unjuſt diſtinctions of active and paſſive citizens. Still the tottering Monarch continued daily to inſult the nation with ſome new act of treachery. The Federates who were appointed to form the camp of Soiſſons, had found it unprovided with neceſſaries, and no officers appointed to inſtruct them. Several of the petty German Princes, of whoſe friendſhip the King had before aſſured the Aſſembly, now openly ſhewed their hoſtile intentions.—The Aſſembly had ordered the Miniſter at War to remove from Paris the two batallions of the Regiment of Swiſs Guards, which were in garriſon there, and were known to be devoted to the ſervice of the court: The Art. v. ſection 1, chapter 3, of the Conſtitution declares expreſsly, that the executive power cannot retain any troops

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the line within the diſtance of 30,000 toiſes, or 30 French miles, of the legiſlative body, without its requeſt or authority. The court were hard puſhed for an expedient to elude this conſtitutional article, upon which they could not put their veto, and a very clumſy one they found. The Miniſter at War notified to the Aſſembly, that the King had already given orders for their departure for Cambray, excepting 300 men which were deſtined to protect the navigation of the Seine, in the department of Eure; but that the Colonel M. D'Affry, having repreſented to his Majeſty, that this ſeparation of the regiment was contrary to the intentions of the Helvetic body, and might prevent the renewal of their capitulations, the King had ſuſpended the orders already given, excepting thoſe for the departure of the 300 men to protect the navigation of the Seine. The Aſſembly ſaw in this proceeding, merely a trick to keep the regiment at Paris; for it was as effectual a ſeparation of the regiment to detach theſe 300 men from them at Paris, as at Cambray, beſides, there was no neceſſity for detaching them at all, as the whole might have been ſent to one place. They therefore renewed their decree, which was no more executed than heretofore, becauſe this regiment was too neceſſary to the King to be removed. An evident proof that though he always preached up a ſtrict adherence to the Conſtitution, he made no ſcruple to deviate from it, wherever it ſuited his intereſts. All theſe circumſtances added new fuel to the flame which had been ſo long kindling, and which was increaſed by the apathy of the Aſſembly. The people conſidering themſelves betrayed by the corruption of one part of their repreſentatives, and by the indolence or timidity of the others, and finding their petitions treated with neglect, began to conſider an open inſurrection, or in other words, the reſumption of their ſovereignty, as the only means which could ſave them. The Aſſembly had certainly, from the commencement of its ſittings, ſhown a great unwillingneſs, or a great incapacity for performing the buſineſs of the public, and lately it was become almoſt inactive, at a moment when the circumſtances required ſtrong and vigorous decrees. The Fœderates had already ſaid to them, "Tell us fairly whether or not you are capable of ſaving the country," and their actions had anſwered for them in the negative, the Jacobins now openly declared a general inſurrection to be

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the only meaſure that could reſcue the country, and it began to be debated in the Sections or Primary Aſſemblies of Paris. On the 4th of Auguſt, the Section of Mauconſeil appeared at the bar, and after demanding the Depoſition of the King, they invited all the ſections of the empire to proclaim it and retract the oath, into which they had been ſurprized in his favour; proteſting that if the Aſſembly continued to turn a deaf ear to the voice of the people, they ſhould the next day declare themſelves in a ſtate of inſurrection. They were followed by the Section of Gravilliers, who demanded likewiſe the King's depoſition, and declared, that if the Aſſembly could not ſave the country, the people were about to riſe and ſave it themſelves. The Aſſembly annulled the decree of the ſection of Mauconſeil as unconſtitutional, ſince one ſection of the people could not exerciſe the rights of ſovereignty, which reſides in the whole. At the ſame time it invited the citizens to be calm, and not ſuffer themſelves to be led aſtray by counſels which tended to agitate them. But the people knew that in theſe moments moderation would be their deſtruction, and the advice of the Aſſembly was loſt upon them. The next day, according to their promiſe, another deputation of the ſection Mauconſeil appeared at the bar, declared that they ceaſed to acknowledge Louis XVI. as their King, that they conſidered themſelves freed from their oath, and in a ſtate of inſurrection.

It was now evident that nothing but the two meaſures ſo loudly called for, the depoſition of the King, and the impeachment of La Fayette, could ſatisfy the nation, and prevent it from doing itſelf juſtice. Yet ſuch was the *influence of the civil liſt in the Aſſembly*, that theſe diſcuſſions were conſtantly poſtponed. At length the debate upon La Fayette was fixed for the 6th of Auguſt, but the court party ſtill found means to hinder its coming on till the 8th, when they decreed by a majority of 406 againſt 224, that there was no room for accuſation againſt him.

Here all reflections become ſuperfluous. We ſee the man, who, under the maſk of patriotiſm, had, during the whole revolution, ſhewn himſelf the moſt determined enemy of Liberty, who now promoted by the court to the rank of General of an Army, had written a menacing letter to the National Aſſembly, demanding the abolition of the ſeminaries of liberty, and conſtituting himſelf mediator between

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the repreſentants of the nation and the executive power. Who, contrary to all military principles had quitted his army in the face of the enemy, to preſent a petition in the name of his army, which conſtitutionally could not deliberate, and which he ought to have prevented from deliberating; who was moreover accuſed with having made propoſals to Marſhal Luckner through the medium of Bureau de Puzy, to march with his army to Paris, and this by the declaration of the Marſhal himſelf in the preſence of ſeven reſpectable members of the National Aſſembly, who ſigned their depoſition. The Marſhal added, that Bureau de Puzy had made him *other propoſals ſtill more horrid.* Theſe were the grounds upon which the minority wiſhed, not to have La Fayette condemned, but put upon his trial. What were the grounds of his acquittal? It was urged that though General of an Army, his letter was only the petition of an individual, that his journey to Paris *might be* by order of the Miniſter, and that the object of his appearance and diſcourſe at the bar, was to prevent his army from expreſſing its ſentiments collectively. With regard to the charge of Marſhal Luckner, they adopted a new mode of proceeding, inſtead of ordering him to the bar to ſubſtantiate his declaration, and to undergo an interogatory, they deſire him to ſend an anſwer in writing; they alſo have the ſtupidity or rather the knavery to write to Fayette and Bureau de Puzy, the one the accus'd, and the other his accomplice, to know whether the Marſhal's charge was true, and both of courſe deny it. The Marſhal alſo, now ſurrounded by the Lameths and other friends of La Fayette, gives the lie direct to the ſeven deputies, in a letter not written by him, but merely ſigned, and his denial is allowed to be a complete refutation of their charge. As if the ſubſequent denial of any perſon, of a fact alledged by him, could counteract the teſtimony of ſeven reſpectable witneſſes. They would not make the diſtinction that the queſtion was not now to condemn La Fayette, but merely to impeach him, when in the courſe of a trial all theſe circumſtances would have been cleared up. But his acquittal was a meaſure before reſolved upon, and was carried, in ſpite of the proofs contained in his correſpondence with Luckner, communicated to the Aſſembly by Bureau de Puzy himſelf, in ſpite of the report of the committee of 21, in ſpite of the diſcourſe of Briſſot,

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who demonſtrated that ſix laws already exiſting condemned the factious General, and in ſpite of the public opinion, though all France expected this decree as the meaſure of the patriotiſm, or of the infamy of the Aſſembly.

The public indignation knew no longer any bounds, ſeveral of the members who had been active in favour of La Fayette, and who had been diſtinguiſhed by their ariſtocratic principles on former occaſions, were received with ſtrong marks of indignation, roughly *treated*, and and *ſeverely beaten* by the populace, upon leaving the hall. It was generally underſtood, and openly declared, that the people only waited for the reſult of the next days deliberation, which was to be on the Depoſition of the King, in order to make a general inſurrection.

In the morning of the 9th, his Majeſty publiſhed his laſt proclamation with freſh aſſurances of his invariable adherence and attachment to the conſtitution, but he was now ſunk into ſuch univerſal contempt, that people would not give themſelves the trouble of reading it. The Aſſembly, little profiting by the ſalutary correction which the moſt flagitious of its members had received the day before, ſtill put off the grand order of the day, by frivolous debates and nonſenſical clamour, although it was well acquainted with the ſtorm which was preparing, and indeed the mayor had told them that he could not anſwer for the tranquility of the capital after midnight. It was five o'clock in the afternoon before Condorcet could be heard on the order of the day, and the Aſſembly diſperſed immediately after, without decreeing any thing, and held no evening ſitting as uſual. The Primary Aſſemblies or Sections of Paris, which had been in a ſtate of permanent ſitting, ever ſince the country was declared to be in danger, now reſolved that they were in a ſtate of inſurrection, and that proper meaſures ſhould be taken to ſecure the perſon of the King, who was known to have fortified himſelf within the Thuileries; they moreover reſolved and proclaimed that no violence or injury ſhould be offered to the repreſentatives of the people, and that if any one degraded the cauſe by attempting to rob or pillage, he ſhould inſtantly be ſhot without further proceſs. The command of the Fœderates of the National Cannoneers, and of the armed Sans Cullottes, was given to Mr. Weiſterman, an Alſacian Gentleman, who had ſerved for many

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years in the army, where he held the rank of Colonel, and was equally diſtinguiſhed for his bravery and his ardent love of liberty. At midnight the Tocſin (alarm bell) was ſounded, and the general beat in ſeveral of the ſections at the ſame time, particularly in the Fauxbourg, St. Antoine, and St. Marcel, the Fœderates, who were under arms, were quickly joined by the others; many of the citizens came with their arms to the different *corps de guarde*, and ſeveral detachments marched towards the Town-hall, where the council general of the municipality were aſſembled. Petion was not there.

The falſe Lewis had ordered him to the Chateau, to take jointly with him, as he ſaid, meaſures of ſafety, but as he did not return, his abſence cauſed the moſt alarming uneaſineſs, ſeveral groups detached themſelves to the National Aſſembly, where they found a few members ſitting who had been awakened by the ſound of the Tocſin, and they ſent to call others, Petion not appearing, and the number of members to compoſe a ſitting being now complete, the Tribunes demanded, and obtained a decree to oblige the court to let go its prey. He appeared in conſequence at the bar, after having been detained four hours in the Thuileries, and from thence was conducted to the Town-hall. As the patriotiſm of the municipal body, excepting Petion and Manuel, was more than doubtful, the ſections ſuſpended the others, and appointed commiſſaries to ſupply the places, they arreſted Mandat, the commander general of the National Guards, who had inſulted Petion in the groſſeſt manner upon his leaving the Thuileries, and appointed Santerre for his ſucceſſor, ad interim. Conſidering the great riſks to which Petion's patriotiſm had already ſo frequently expoſed him, and from which he had eſcaped as it were by a miracle, they decreed that he ſhould be conſigned to the hall of the common council, and a guard of honour of 400 citizens placed there to protect him, who ſhould be reſponſible for the liberty and the life of this worthy magiſtrate. What a contraſt between the ſenſations of Petion at this moment, and thoſe of Louis XVI. if the latter was capable of making the compariſon.

Ever ſince the firſt report of arms being conveyed into the Thuileries, and ſince it was become notorious that numbers of the *cidevant* nobles and clergy, better known by the

name of *Chevaliers du Poignard*, were retained in the pay of the court, and had tickets of free admiſſion to the palace, the people had ſtrongly ſuſpected a deſign on the part of the court to maſſacre the patriots. In fact, for what other purpoſe could they ſuppoſe theſe hoſtile preparations to be deſtined? By another report it was aſſerted that the Ariſtocrats meant to carry off the King to Rouen, under the protection of the Swiſs Guards, and there to ſet up the ſtandard of a counter revolution. It is now certain from papers found at *La Porte's*, the intendant of the civil liſt, and publiſhed by order of the Aſſembly, and from others yet unpubliſhed, particularly a letter found in the Queen's deſk, and ſuppoſed to be the hand writing of La Fayette, as well as from other facts that have ſince come to light, that the people were not miſtaken in either conjecture. The *ex-poſt facto* proofs of the treachery of the court, may perhaps form the ſubject of another letter, at preſent I have merely to trace the preſumptive ones which influenced the people.

Whether that this night was ſet apart for the execution of their horrid plans, or whether from a principle of ſelf-defence, certain it was, that the court had filled the palace with all the Swiſs in Paris, amounting, as far as it can be yet learned, to about 1000. Theſe were ſeconded by a body of from 2 to 3000 Ariſtocrats; compoſed, as I before mentioned, of the *Chevaliers du Poignard*, the *cidevant* body guard, and other ſatellites of the court, many of whom had aſſumed the dreſs of the National Guards. *Mandat*, before he was ſuſpended and put under arreſt by the Common Council *(le Conſeil generale de la Commune)*, had aſſembled a conſiderable part of the Pariſian National Guard within the courts and garden of the palace, particularly the ariſtocratical grenadiers of the ſections of Filles St. Thomas and Petits Peres, who furniſhed him with eight pieces of cannon: When ordered before the common council, and interrogated for what purpoſe he had collected ſuch an extraordinary military force, he endeavoured to elude the queſtion by equivocal anſwers; but in the midſt of his examination, a letter was produced from him to the commander of the poſt *de la Greve*, conceived as follows, "You will ſuffer the people to paſs you, and when they are "gone by, you will fire upon the rear; I anſwer for the "front," this letter was ſent by the commander of the poſt himſelf,

himſelf, who was ſtruck with horror at its contents. The ſame villain Mandat had poſted the ariſtocratic batallion of Henry IV. upon the Pont Neuf, with orders to attack with their artillery the Marſeillois, and the batallion of National Guards of the Theatre Francois, if they attempted to paſs. Such accumulated treachery againſt the people, by the perſon who ought to have been moſt active in their defence, met with the fate it merited. He was torn to pieces by the multitude.

Between four and five o'clock in the morning, *Weiſtermann* at the head of a company of the Marſeillois, coming from the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, preſented himſelf at the end of the Pont Neuf, and was refuſed the paſſage; he advanced along and harangued the officers, telling them that the cauſe in which he acted was the common cauſe, a cauſe in which every Frenchman ought to feel alike, that if they were friends to liberty, they would join the other citizens determined that day to reſcue their country.

Finding the Etat Major deaf to his perſuaſions, he drew his ſword, and calling aloud to the Marſeillois to advance, ſwore he would put to death the firſt cannoneer who attempted to fire. This act of courage intimidated them, and the Marſeillois without difficulty ſeizing on their cannon, added them to the number already deſtined to form the ſiege of the Thuilleries. Different detachments of the Fœderates had gone round to the other ſections, who all gave up their cannon with pleaſure, and moſt of the corps de guarde joined them. The court party for ſome reaſon or other, probably to facilitate their projected eſcape, had ſent out a falſe *patrouille* (watch) of from 20 to 30 men, armed with piſtols and ſabres, under the dreſs of National Guards, theſe were met in the middle of the night by the real watch in the Elyſian fields; finding a number of men armed and unacquainted with the watch word, they immediately took them priſoners, and though inferior in number, brought them to the corps de guarde of the Feuillans, where they put them under arreſt. They were ſoon recognized to be noted ariſtocratic writers, nobles and clergy; men whoſe lives were ſpent in inſulting the nation, as ſuch they were demanded with loud cries by the people, who had aſſembled in great numbers about ſix o'clock in the morning, and were determined to execute ſpeedy juſtice. The guards be-

ing of the ſame opinion, ſuffered the people without any reſiſtance to break open the priſon door and ſeize upon their victims; they ſelected ſeven or eight of the moſt notorious, who were inſtantly decapitated upon the Place Vendome, and their heads carried through Paris upon pikes.

In the mean time, Rhoederer the *Procurer general Syndic of the Department of Paris*, with ſeveral of the members of the old municipal body, harrangued the different batallions of national guards, who were ſtationed within the courts and gardens of the palace, telling them to ſtand firm, not to attack the citizens, but if they attempted to enter, to repulſe force by force, and to loſe their lives if neceſſary in defence of law and property. Such was the Jeſuital conduct of this man, who had hitherto uſurped the maſk of patriotiſm, although he knew that the inſurrection of the people was a general meaſure, regularly debated in the open face of day in the ſections, and publicly announced by wall-bills (affiches), containing their reſolutions. It was the whole people uſing its rights, and acting in its ſovereign capacity, deſpiſing too much its tyrants to fear them, and counting too much upon its power and the goodneſs of its cauſe, to deign even to conceal its deſigns; yet this pretended patriot dared to oppoſe the general will, and ſeek to imbrue the hands of the citizens in each others blood, and for what purpoſe? to defend the betrayer of his country, Louis XVI. and his blood-thirſty attendants.

Between five and ſix o'clock in the morning the king, who had been up all night, concerting meaſures with his ſatellites, deſcended from the palace, reviewed and harangued the National Guards himſelf, conjuring them to be true to him; the ariſtocratic grenadiers received him with loud acclamations, and eſcorted him back to his apartments amidſt repeated ſhouts of *Vive le Roi*, but the patriotic batallions could not be brought either by the intreaties, threats, or examples of the courtiers, to cry any thing elſe than *Vive la Nation*, and ſeeing now plainly for what purpoſe they were placed there, they retired with their cannon and joined the Fœderates and other citizens immediately after he had reviewed them. It has on all occaſions been obſerved, that the cannoneers have been the moſt faithful friends of the people, and the moſt zealous defenders of liberty: probably the ſuperior inſtructions which their employment neceſſitates,

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opens and expands their minds, and makes them more ſenſible of their real intereſts.

The fœderates and different companies of national guards, formed into a hollow ſquare upon the Place de Carouſel, with the open front towards the Thuilleries at half paſt ſix o'clock. They might amount in all to about 3000 men, not including the *Sans Culottes* of the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, who made up the rear, armed with pikes. By ſome miſunderſtanding the pikeſmen of the St. Antoine, and the other Fauxbourgs did not arrive till after the commencement of the action. The citizens thus drawn up were ſupported by about twenty pieces of cannon, diſtributed at equal diſtances, of which only the two they had taken on the Pont Neuf were 25 pounders, and the reſt field pieces, and were flanked by a body of the *gendarmerie nationale cheval*, or national horſe.

A detachment of national guards with ſix pieces of cannon was placed on the Pont Royal, to command the end of the Chateau, another numerous body of them, ſupported by the national horſe, occupied the Place Louis XV. and commanded the entrance of the garden on that ſide; the Cour des Feuillans and the Cour de la Manege, both leading to the National Aſſembly, were each defended by a company with three or four pieces of cannon; two pieces of cannon were alſo placed upon the end of the Terraſs of the Feuillans, next the palace, this being the only part of the garden which the people yet choſe to enter; thus all the avenues to the palace and garden were guarded, excepting the gallery of the Louvre and the Hotel de Brienne at the oppoſite end.

The officers of the national horſe, all noted ariſtocrats, had ordered their men early in the morning to fire upon and diſperſe the people: But the ſoldiers animated by the ſame ſpirit of liberty which glowed in the boſom of every citizen, not only refuſed to execute their ſanguinary orders, but diſdaining to obey them any longer, put them under an arreſt, and choſe themſelves other officers *pro tempore*.

Such were the preparations on the part of the patriots; the court on its ſide had not been idle. The apartments were filled with Swiſs diſpoſed at all the windows, and on all ſides to the greateſt advantage; they were ranged alſo in the courts and in the front of the palace, ſo as to maintain

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a croſs fire upon the patriots as they entered, both with their fire-arms and their cannon. They were to be ſupported by the national grenadiers of Filles St. Thomas, and the Petits Peres, upon whom much dependence was placed. The Chevaliers de Poignard armed ſome of them with guns, others with pikes, others with ſwords, daggers, and piſtols, formed as motly a group as the Sans Culottes of the oppoſite ſide; theſe were intended to be a ſort of light troops, who were to march wherever danger called them, and whereever their aſſiſtance was moſt neceſſary; all renewed the ancient oath of chivalry upon their ſwords, to die in defence of their Sovereign Lord: But as to the Swiſs, who were unacquainted with the refinements of honour, it was thought neceſſary to work up their courage with a plentiful diſtribution of wine, brandy, and money, and promiſes of the moſt extravagant nature.

Yet after all theſe preparations for the butchery of his people, and after having concerted in council with his ſatellites, the execrable plan which was afterwards put in execution, Louis XVI. conſidering that ſtill the iſſue of the day might be donbtful, and not feeling courage to die like a Catalina at the head of his adherents, thought it prudent to act a double part; he therefore diſpatched the miniſter of juſtice to the Aſſembly, to deſire they would ſend a deputation to protect his perſon. But whilſt they were deliberating upon the beſt means of placing him in ſafety, he was announced to be at the door with his wife, ſiſter, and two children. It ſeems his Majeſty's fears leſt his ſubjects ſhould have to anſwer for an act of regicide, would not permit him to expoſe his ſacred perſon any longer, and he had left his Janiſſaries to execute his orders, after having circulated the report among them, that he was ordered to the Aſſembly by a decree. The Aſſembly now named a deputation to receive him; he was eſcorted from the palace through the garden by a numerous detachment of Swiſs, and of the national guards upon duty at the palace, who had not interfered in any manner in the buſineſs of the night. When they approached the terraſs of liberty, (the terraſs of the Feuillans) the captain of the national guards, a good patriot, obſerving there was much ferment among the people, commanded the detachment to halt, and advanced alone to harangue them. He aſſured them that not one of his ſoldiers

diers ſhould violate the land of liberty upon which they ſtood, but he ſhould commit the King to their care, and they ſhould ſerve as guardians to him. Finding them pacified by this aſſurance, he begged of them to range themſelves and open a paſſage for the King, and to remember that they were anſwerable to all France for the depoſit he placed in their hands. A paſſage was inſtantly opened, and the national guards from the Aſſembly ranged themſelves on both ſides of it; the people now loudly expreſſed their indignation and contempt for their monarch, one of the *Sans Culottes* however advancing, offered him his hand, and with the other pointing to his boſom, "Strike there," ſays he, "and be ſure that you hold the hand of an honeſt man, "and not of an aſſaſſin. Notwithſtanding all the evil you "have done us, I anſwer for the ſafety of your days; I "will conduct you to the Aſſembly, but for your wife, who "has been the bane of the French, ſhe ſhall not diſgrace "the ſeat of our repreſentatives." The people applauded this ſpecimen of eloquence, and oppoſed themſelves to the paſſage of the Queen accordingly; but the Jeſuit Rhaderer having informed them that the Aſſembly had paſſed a decree for her admiſſion, no farther oppoſition was made, and ſhe was allowed to enter with her children, the Princeſs Elizabeth, ſeveral Swiſs officers, and other ariſtocrats, who all had accompanied them to be in ſafety from the coming ſtorm. They now entered, and the king having ſeated himſelf by the preſident, addreſſed the Aſſembly in theſe words, "I COME AMONG YOU TO PREVENT A GREAT CRIME." Matchleſs impudence! after having meditated and prepared the maſſacre of the people, to make a merit of his cowardice in running from their vengeance! As the Aſſembly could not conſtitutionally deliberate in his preſence, he was deſired to paſs into an adjoining lodge with his family, whence he could hear and ſee what was going on.

The army of citizens aſſembled on the Place de Carouzel, now grew impatient for the attack. About nine o'clock the Marſeillois ſummoned the Swiſs to open the gates of the outer court, which was immediately complied with, and about 2 to 300 Marſeillois with Weiſſenbermann at their head, advanced towards the palace, between the Swiſs, who were ranged on both ſides, and received them in the moſt amicable manner. The National Guards upon duty in the palace,

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ſent a deputation to the fœderates to let them know they were friends, and ſhould not ſoil their arms with the blood of their brethren; the Swiſs pleaſed, as was ſuppoſed, with this ſignal of peace, threw down cartouches from the windows, and cried *Vive la Nation.* Numbers of the armed citizens now preſſed forwards into the court, rejoicing in this apparent amicable termination of the affair. In the mean time, Weiſtermann with a few Marſeillois, advanced to the entrance of the palace, where a conſiderable body of men, with cannon were placed. He addreſſed himſelf to the officers, and conjured them not to ſhed the blood of the citizens, but receiving an anſwer worthy the ſatellites of deſpotiſm, he called their ſoldiers to witneſs that all the evils which that day preſaged, were owing to their chiefs, and invited them to embrace the cauſe of the people, and of humanity. A Swiſs officer liſtened to the voice of reaſon, and gave him his hand; inſtantly the ſoldiers under his command broke their ranks, and deſcended the ſtair-caſe to unite themſelves to the people. In the ſame moment the Swiſs, who were placed above them, excited by their officers, made a terrible diſcharge upon the Marſeillois, and upon their own brethren, which was immediately ſeconded from the windows, and from the Swiſs in the court. Above 100 fœderates and Pariſians fell by this act of treachery; Weiſtermann, undaunted, called aloud to the patriots to follow him, *(a moi les patriotes)* and ruſhed ſword in hand amidſt the hoſtile ranks, ſcattering death on every ſide. This courageous example was inſtantly followed by his companions, now ſupported by the Bretons and other armed citizens. At the ſame time, the artillery of the patriots began to play from all quarters upon the Swiſs poſted at the windows of the palace, for thoſe within the courts were protected from it by the outer walls. The Swiſs within the courts now retreated into the little buildings or barracks on each ſide, and from thence kept up an inceſſant fire upon the citizens as they entered, and upon thoſe within the area, being protected by the buildings from a return of the ſhot. But the national horſe flew to the aſſiſtance of their friends, fell upon the barracks with impetuoſity, and with torches in their hands, ſet fire to them in various places. Forty horſes and twenty five riders were ſtretched upon the ground in this deſparate attack. The fire now gaining apace,

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the Swiſs were ſoon obliged to quit their cover, and fell an eaſy prey to the citizens, who ſhot and cut them to pieces as they ran towards the palace; amongſt them were many of the Chevaliers dreſſed as National Guards, moſt of whom received the price due to their infamy. During this time the Swiſs at the windows kept up a well ſuſtained fire upon the Place de Carouzel, the Pont Royal, and the Terraſs of the Feuillans, which was properly anſwered by the cannon and muſquetry of theſe poſts. Great execution is ſaid to have been done amongſt the people from the Hotel Brienne, againſt which the proper precautions had not been taken, and in order to make this day reſemble ſtill more the famous St. Bartholomew, numbers of the Chevaliers du Poignard placed in the gallery of the Louvre fired upon the women and unarmed paſſengers.

The patriots had been for a moment repulſed at the entrance of the palace, and Weiſtermann, after having received five wounds, was felled by the wind of a ball. But they quickly rallied, and with their intrepid commander once more at their head, and the Sans Culottes with their pikes in the rear, commenced a moſt bloody engagement. Numbers of the Swiſs were ſlaughtered in gallantly defending what they thought to be the law of the land; and had they been properly ſupported, no doubt their victory would have coſt dear to the patriots. But no ſooner did the infamous ſycophants of the court, thoſe valorous knights who had pledged their *honour* to ſupport them with their lives, find that the people ſo far from running away at the firſt fire, as they had ſuppoſed, maintained a vigorous attack, than terrified at the approach of danger, they abandoned themſelves to a ſhameful flight; leaving the Swiſs to defend themſelves. The patriots now preſſing forward with a courage bordering upon madneſs, forced the remaining Swiſs to join the fugitives, and the carnage became dreadful. The hall, —the great ſtair-caſe,—the chapel, and all the apartments, were quickly ſtrewed with the bodies of the dead and dying. The citizens chaſed the flying enemy from room to room; guilty of the moſt ſignal treaſon, they were all put to death. The juſtice of the people appeared in all its horror; many of the Swiſs and others who had hid themſelves in the upper apartments, were thrown out of the windows, and not a ſingle inhabitant of the palace, eſcaped; all were conſidered as ac-

complices of their maſter and enemies of the nation. The flower of chivalry acquainted with all the avenues of the palace, ſaved themſelves through the gallery of the Louvre which the people had forgot to guard. Thus did upwards of a thouſand of theſe wretches eſcape the juſt vengeance of the people, and the puniſhment due to their manifold crimes. Their deluded agents periſhed, but theſe villains who from the commencement of the revolution had been working the ruin of their country eſcaped, and live to boaſt of and renew their crimes. Numbers of them however expiated the eternal impunity of the oppreſſions of the human race, and it is hoped the ſearch now diligently making after the remainder, will bring them to the inglorious end they merit.

Two or three hundred of the Swiſs fled into the garden of the Thuileries, at the bottom of which they rallied and formed. They were inſtantly attacked by the National Guards upon the Place Louis XV. and a briſk action took place, which was very deſtructive to the Swiſs, for many of them had expended their ammunition, and others had thrown away their arms, not expecting any oppoſition to their flight. However, they maintained a running fight till under the walls of the Aſſembly, when finding reſiſtance uſeleſs, they ſurrendered. Fourteen endeavoured to force the paſs of the Pont Royal, but were cut to pieces in the attempt. Some eſcaped into the town from the Hotel Briennes, and a few, agitated by deſpair, periſhed in attempting to force their way acroſs the Place de Carouzel. The reſt of the fugitives ran down the ſide of the Seine towards the Elyſian fields, where the greater part were either cut to pieces or taken priſoners by the National Horſe poſted on the Place Louis XV.

You will aſk me what became of the National Grenadiers whom I have not mentioned in the combat. Theſe finding themſelves deſerted by the patriots, thought it prudent to act a double part, and paſſing through the Chateau into the garden about eight o'clock in the morning, ranged themſelves upon the terraſs in front, promiſing from thence to ſecond the Swiſs; but whether from indignation at the King's deſertion, or from fear, they all filed off at the firſt diſcharge. What became of them afterwards, and whether or not they took any part in the engagement, I know not.

Let us now divert our attention for a moment from this ſcene of ſlaughter, to the National Aſſembly. They had

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ſent a deputation of ten members to attempt to pacify the people, immediately upon the King's entrance, but they ſoon returned, the firing having commenced before they arrived. The report of the guns occaſioned a great commotion in the Aſſembly, agitated by ſuch different paſſions; order was however reſtored by the preſident's covering himſelf and reminding the members that they were at their poſt. The King did not forget to inform the preſident, *that he had not given orders to fire.* Let thoſe who know the ſtrict diſcipline and exact obedience of the Swiſs officers, and who have heard their depoſitions ſince, believe him if they can. At the commencement of the action, and until the moment when the ſhouts of the patriots announced their victory, he and the Queen appeared unconcerned, relying without doubt upon the ſucceſs of the preparations they had made againſt the people, upon the diviſion of the citizens, upon the treaſon of the officers of the National Guard, and upon all thoſe wretches who were paid to act this day. But tyrants are not capable of calculating the force of the people, and theſe were far from foreſeeing that all their monſtrous edifice of crime and perfidy, would vaniſh before its omnipotence.—The Aſſembly now remained for ſome moments in deep ſilence, which was broken by a member who moved to decree, that it put all property and perſons under the ſafeguard of the law and of the people. This paſſed unanimouſly. All the deputies then roſe up and ſwore to maintain *liberty and equality*, and a proclamation was inſtantly iſſued inviting the citizens to place confidence in their repreſentatives; for they well knew that they had deſerved to forfeit it. A deputation from the Thermes of Juilian appeared at the bar and called upon the Aſſembly, to ſwear that they would ſave their country. The call of names was inſtantly demanded, to ſee who were the traitors that deſerted their poſt in the hour of danger, and each member as his name was read, mounted the tribune and pronounced this oath. " *I ſwear to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain with all my power liberty and equality, or to die at my poſt*". The Coté droit was extremely thin at the commencement of the ſitting, but they began to pour in as ſoon as they found the anger of the people was not directed againſt them. The new municipality preſented themſelves at the bar, and having taken the oath, informed the Aſſem-

bly of the treachery of the Swiſs. The firing had now ceaſed and numbers of citizens were uſhered into the bar, bringing with them the queen's jewels, the money and the aſſignats which they had found in the apartments, "the palace," ſaid they, "is broke open, but do not believe that citizens fighting for their liberties will diſgrace themſelves by pillage." News was brought that the Swiſs officers, moſt of whom had accompanied the king to the Aſſembly, were arreſted; the Aſſembly decreed that they were under the protection *of the law and the people, and of the generoſity of the French.* They next decreed upon the motion of M. Bazire that the committee of ſafety ſhould be authorized to arreſt any ſuſpected perſons. Intelligence having been received that the Swiſs in garriſon at Courbevoie, were upon their march to ſupport their brethren and that numbers of armed citizens were gone out to meet them, a member moved, that to prevent any farther bloodſhed, the king ſhould ſend them an order counterſigned by the preſident, to lay down their arms. This was accordingly done and had the deſired effect.

The people though now maſters every where, diſdained to plunder. Every thing valuable that was found in the palace, was carried to the Aſſembly and to the municipality. A few wretches who were caught in the act of ſtealing, were killed upon the ſpot, and others were carried to the Place de Greve, (the common place of execution of criminals) where they were tried, condemned and ſhot. Such was the juſtice of the people.

Let thoſe wretches who have ſworn an everlaſting warfare to the doctrines of reaſon and equality, and with whom riches ſupply the place of virtue and humanity; let them, I ſay, contemplate the diſintereſted honour of the people, let them compare their conduct with that of thoſe *noble* officers who baſely betraying the cauſe of their country which they had ſworn to defend, deſert to the enemy, and carry with them the cheſt of their regiment, and let them then lay their hands on their hearts and ſay whether they deſerve the name of *ſwiniſh multitude.* Miſerable egotiſts, who having purchaſed your riches by acts of atrocity and baſeneſs, ceaſe your inſulting fears for your deſpicable wealth, learn to reſpect the people, and leave them at leaſt to enjoy with their poverty—*liberty and honour!*

Amidſt

Amidſt the triumph of liberty, the courts, the palace, the garden and all the places and ſtreets adjoining, preſented a ſcene truly horrible; the patriots had been carried off by their friends as they fell, but the bodies of the Swiſs and of the ariſtocrats covered with ghaſtly wounds were ſtrewed in every quarter. To enter the palace you paſſed through the outer court, the whole length of which was one continued blaze, and you could ſcarcely take a ſtep without treading upon a flaming rafter, or a body half roaſted; but nothing could equal the horror of the ſcene which the porch, the great ſtaircaſe and the apartments preſented. I haſten from it, for unuſed to ſuch ſights I wiſh not to renew the impreſſion it made on me. In deploring this ſcene of ſlaughter, I almoſt forgot the crimes which had neceſſitated it.—May other monarchs, taught by this example, wiſely and timely prevent the neceſſity of ſuch reſources! Yet far different muſt have been the ſentiments of ſome, who, like me, were ſpectators of this ſcene. All the paſſions of which the human frame is ſuſceptible muſt have been rouſed at once into action. Fury and indignation againſt the unfeeling deſpot and his infernal counſellors; grief for the loſs of a father, a brother, or a friend, ſacrificed to their perfidy; pity for the deluded victims of their treachery, gloomy joy at the ſight of the breathleſs bodies of the authors of the carnage, and tranſport at the idea of victory, of future liberty and happineſs.

In traverſing the apartments of the palace, you obſerved all the rooms, filled with beds, placed there to receive the wounded. Great quantities of arms are ſaid to have been found, among others, a collection of daggers of a frightful and unuſual form. One of the cellars was filled with torches, which were ſuppoſed to have been deſtined to ſet fire to Paris.

The Swiſs who had eſcaped were hunted down in every ſtreet, and ſearched for in every lurking place. Wherever found they were maſſacred by the friends and relations of the victims of their treaſon, both during this evening and the enſuing night and day. Sixty of them who were taken priſoners by the Federates and conveyed by them to the town-hall to be committed to priſon, were ſeized on by the women, tried ſummarily and inſtantly executed upon the Place de Greve.

Far

Far be it from me to attempt to juſtify the cruelties of this day, but in judging of them, let us not throw wanton reproaches upon the French. Let us remember what has been the conduct of every people upon earth during their civil wars and amongſt others, let us not forget the acts of cruelty with which the Engliſh hiſtory is replete. Let us alſo remember that never provocation and treachery was greater, and that mankind never fought in ſo glorious a cauſe before. If ſtill theſe cruelties raiſe our indignation, let it fall upon the primary cauſes of all, upon the cowardly tyrant who treacherouſly delivered up his ſubjects to ſlaughter. "In all the calamities and misfortunes of the human race," "you always recognize the crimes of deſpotiſm."

Only about 200 of the Swiſs were ſaved by the Federates and National Guards, and lodged for the interim in the Corps de Guarde of the Feuillans, whence as the people grew clamorous for them, they were conveyed into the hall of the National Aſſembly, and a member deputed to calm the people. Here I muſt do juſtice to the Ex Capuchin Chabot, who acquitted himſelf moſt admirably, and may be conſidered as the ſaviour of the Swiſs. In the evening of the following day, they were transferred under a ſtrong guard with Petion at their head to the Palais Bourbon, and now await their trial. The officers are confined in the priſon of the Abbey, and will moſt probably ſuffer for their ingratitude to a nation whoſe bread they had long partaken of. For it is to be obſerved, that even the King's orders do not juſtify them, as by the conſtitution the armed force cannot fire upon the people without the requiſition of a municipal officer.

No accurate ſtatement has yet been publiſhed of the number of ſlain on either ſide; from a compariſon of the different accounts, I ſhould ſuppoſe, that not leſs than 1500 fell on the ſide of the court, and about 200 on the ſide of the patriots were either killed on the ſpot, or have ſince died of their wounds. The number of wounded federates and citizens was very great.

In the midſt of their rage and indignation, the people all along reſpected their repreſentatives, and did not attempt to violate the ſanctuary in which they had placed the two royal priſoners. At four o'clock of this ſame day, which ſo many patriots had paſſed without eating, and which had

been fatal to ſo many of their friends and adherents, Louis XVI. and his wife ſat down to dinner, and it was remarked, that little penetrated with the miſeries he had cauſed, he eat as voraciouſly as uſual. This anecdote is trifling, but it ſerves to ſhew the unfeeling heart of the tyrant. No doubt, the Cannibal's appetite would have been ſtill increaſed if the meat had been ſerved up in the reeking ſkulls of the citizens ſhot by his Prœtorian Guard. The Auſtrian panther, whoſe crimes and vices bear with them the true ſtamp of royalty, bit her lips in ſilent rage, and ſeemed only to meditate the moment of revenge.

The National Aſſembly inſpired by the ſcene which was paſſing round them, roſe at times to the height of its vocation. Upon the propoſition of Mr. Vergniaud in the name of the extraordinary committee, it decreed, the ſuſpenſion of the King, and the convocation of a National Convention, which ſhould decide upon his fate and regulate the future form of government.—Conſidering next, that after having ſworn a ſolemn adherence to the doctrines of liberty and equality, they could not any longer maintain the unjuſt diſtinctions of *active* and *paſſive* citizens, they decreed, that every citizen of twenty-five years of age, (changed afterwards to twenty-one) who had had a fixed habitation for one year, and lived upon the produce of his labour, ſhould be admitted to all the privileges enjoyed by *active citizens*. Memorable and conſoling proof of the progreſs of human reaſon! Thus do we ſee the imperious voice of the public opinion, force into execution thoſe eternal laws of juſtice and of the ſocial compact, which the prejudices and machiaveliſm of the Conſtituent Aſſembly, had violated three years before. Thus do we ſee that claſs of men to whom the conqueſt of liberty was due, and who in every country form the moſt uſeful and moſt honeſt part of the community, at length admitted to ſhare its advantages! Perhaps the Aſſembly would have done well to have ſimplified the mode of elections, by ſuppreſſing the uſeleſs and dangerous medium of electors, leaving the people themſelves to chooſe their repreſentatives; but probably they did not chooſe to enter into a ſubject which will, no doubt, be fully inveſtigated by the National Convention.

All decrees paſſed before the ſuſpenſion of the King, and ſanctioned by him, and all that were paſſed ſince, or ſhould

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paſs hereafter without ſanction, were decreed to have the force of laws, and to be executed as ſuch throughout the country.

Having next declared that the preſent miniſters had forfeited the confidence of the nation, they proceeded to the choice of new ones, when the three patriots *Roland*, *Servan*, and *Claviere*, were adopted by unanimous conſent, to fill their former places; *Monge*, a member of the academy of ſciences, and a man of great abilities and known patriotiſm, was choſen for the department of the marine; *Danton* who firſt detected and expoſed the knavery of La Fayette, was elected miniſter of juſtice; and Le Brun, miniſter for foreign affairs.

Commiſſioners were named from among the military members, to viſit all the armies, and give them a juſt account of what was going forward, hoping by that means to prevent the intrigues of ſome of their generals and officers, whom at the ſame time they were empowered to ſuſpend or break, if they acted contrary to the general ſafety.

Finally, La Port, the intendant of the civil liſt, was committed to priſon, and his papers ſealed; a decree of accuſation was alſo carried againſt Dabancourt, the ex-miniſter of war, for not having obeyed the decree of the Aſſembly, which enjoined the departure of the Swiſs.

Such, my friends, were the tranſactions of this memorable day, a day which will ever form the proudeſt page in the hiſtory of man. Parties and factions have often dethroned deſpots in what *they called the cauſe of Liberty*, but never did a people act with ſuch unanimity before, for all the citizens and all the armies of France, adhere to and approve the gallant conduct of their Pariſian brethren. The traitor, La Fayette, has now fully unmaſked himſelf, firſt in putting himſelf in a ſtate of open rebellion againſt the ſovereignty of the people, and endeavouring to ſeduce the army; and next in cowardly deſerting, and robber-like, taking with him the military cheſt. The baſe ſtipendiaries of the civil liſt, are moſt of them committed to priſon, and probably the country will ſoon be freed from its internal enemies. From its external ones it has little to apprehend, for, where a people like this are united, fighting in ſo glorious a cauſe, and not liable any longer to be betrayed by their own leaders, they may ſet at defiance the ſlaves of all the combined deſpots of Europe.

In this detail of facts I have adhered closely to truth, hoping by a genuine account, to counteract the effect which your lying ministerial papers may have produced. I have interspersed my narrative with such reflections and observations as presented themselves to me at the time, or as I have been able to collect from the best writers upon the subject; meaning to claim no merit from them, I have thought it useless to interrupt and weaken my narrative by frequent references.

I conclude this long epistle with the following eloquent apostrophe.

" Thus, commenced the most glorious revolution which " ever honoured human nature, or rather the only " one which had an object worthy of mankind, that " of establishing political society upon the immortal princi- " ples of *equality*—of *justice*—of *reason*. What other cause " could unite in one moment, that immense populace, that " innumerable multitude of citizens of all conditions acting " in concert, without chiefs or centre of union! What " other cause could inspire them with so elevated, with so " enduring a courage and produce miracles of valour su- " perior to the boasted tales of Greece and Rome! All " France already answers to the signal; all the petty in- " trigues, all the ambitious traitors who dared provoke " the thunder of the people, if they escape its justice, will " of themselves fall into their original nothing. Already " the shock which has overturned the throne of our ty- " rants, has shaken every throne in Europe, and the liber- " ty of the world will be at once our work and our recom- " pence. Frenchmen forget not that you hold in your " hands, the destiny of the universe. Do not fall asleep in " the bosom of victory, adopt the maxim of a great man, " who thought he had done nothing, as long as any thing " remained undone. Forget not that you have to combat " the league of despots, and to confound the plots of those " still more dangerous enemies whom you nourish in your " bosom. Immortal glory awaits you, but you must pur- " chase it by hardy labours. Stand upright and be watch- " ful. You have now no medium to choose between the " most odious of all slavery, and the most perfect liberty, " a people can enjoy; between the most barbarous proscrip- " tion and the purest happiness. Either the King or the

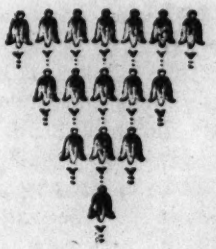
" French muſt fall. Such is the ſituation to which the glo-
" rious ſtruggle you have hitherto maintained againſt roy-
" alty has brought you; ſhake off then entirely the yoke
" of your former prejudices, that you may ſuſtain your-
" ſelves upon the level of the principles of liberty, and of
" the circumſtances of the times.

" Citizens; hitherto knaves have talked to you of laws
" in order to enſlave and murder you, and you have had
" no laws! You have only had the criminal caprices of
" your tyrants recommended by intrigue, and ſupported by
" force. They preached up to you reſpect for the conſti-
" tuted authorities, and thoſe conſtituted authorities have
" been nothing better than cunning knaves *(fourbes adroits)*
" cloathed with unjuſt powers to proſcribe juſtice and pa-
" triotiſm, under a legal form. Their crimes have forced
" you once more to reſume the exerciſe of your rights.
" Exert them in a manner worthy of you, and proper to
" enſure your happineſs. You will only be happy when
" you have laws, when the general will ſhall be heard and
" reſpected, and when the delegates of the people ſhall not
" be able to violate it with impunity in uſurping the ſove-
" reignty. The fruit of your exertions, of your ſacri-
" fices and of your victories, ſhould be the beſt conſtitu-
" tion poſſible, the moſt worthy of an enlightened and
" magnanimous nation. You owe this benefaction to the
" world, and to yourſelves. Such is the object of the Na-
" tional Convention you are about to form. Reject all your
" natural enemies, all the agents, all the valets of your
" tyrants; confide not the work of genius and virtue to
" intrigue, ambition and egotiſm. But whoever are your
" delegates, be cautious not to make them abſolute arbiters
" of your deſtiny, watch over them, judge them, and
" always reſerve yourſelves regular and peaceful means of
" ſtopping the encroachments of public men upon *the rights*
" *and ſovereignty of the people.*

" Prepare the ſucceſs of this convention, by the regene-
" ration of the public mind. Let every one be wakeful,
" every one armed, and the enemies of liberty, will hide
" themſelves in darkneſs. Let the tocſin which has ſound-
" ed in Paris, be echoed in the provinces. Frenchmen,
" learn both to reaſon and to fight, henceforward at war
" with all your oppreſſors, you will only be at peace when

" you

" you have chaſtized them. Far from you be that puſilla-
" nimous weakneſs, or that cowardly indulgence, which
" tyrants thirſting after the blood of mankind aſk for them-
" ſelves alone.—Impunity has given riſe to all their crimes,
" and all your wrongs. Let them then fall under the ſword
" of the law. The clemency which would pardon them is
" barbarous, it is a crime againſt humanity."



APPENDIX.

I Have ſubjoined to the preceding narrative, the reflections of M. Condorcet, on the revolutions of 1688 in England, and of the 10th of Auguſt in France, and the addreſs of the late National Aſſembly on the neceſſity of a National Convention. Theſe two papers relating to the ſame courſe of events which form the ſubject of the preceding pages, I thought would be deemed no unacceptable addition. I would have added the report of M. Gohier on the proofs of the late King's treachery, but as a committee is ſtill employed under the authority of the National Convention in examining the remaining papers to the ſame purpoſe, we may reaſonably expect a ſtill fuller and more deciſive body of evidence than has yet appeared.*

T. C.

* From the copies of the letters and accounts found in the King's eſcritoire, and among the papers of M. la Porte the comptroller of the Civil Liſt (of which 13 numbers have been publiſhed by authority) it appears that, the Civil Liſt was in part regularly applied to the payment of writers againſt the Revolution; to the diſtribution of Ariſtocratic pamphlets and hand-bills; to the purchaſe of ſatirical prints and engravings againſt the Patriotic party; in rewards and bounties to the diſaffected; in ſecretly paying the regiments oſtenſibly diſbanded in compliance with the Aſſembly's requiſition; in continuing the pay of the French guards, even to ſuch as were at Coblentz; and other treacherous, anti-civic purpoſes. The letters publiſhed evidently prove, that thoſe who correſponded with the Miniſters of the King or with the King himſelf, were perfectly aware that the appearance of the moſt determined hatred to the principles of the Revolution were neceſſary to obtain favour at the French Court.

REFLECTIONS
ON
THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION 1688, AND THAT OF THE 10th OF AUGUST, 1792.

BY M. CONDORCET.

THE Revolution in England in 1688, compared with the Revolution of France in 1792, preſents, in the motives which occaſioned them and the principles by which they were directed, a parallel which, notwithſtanding the difference of the times, the circumſtances and the ſtate of knowledge,

knowledge, proves that the cauſe of the French is exactly the ſame as that of the Engliſh nation; and, indeed, of all nations, that are, or have conceived the hope of becoming free.

JAMES II. was the conſtitutional King, like LOUIS XVI. It was the national will, notwithſtanding the juſt repugnance of the friends of freedom, by which JAMES ſucceeded to his brother: the fear of civil diſcord was ſuperior to that of a Papiſt King, infatuated with thoſe ideas of abſolute authority which had been ſo fatal to CHARLES I. Actuated by the ſame motives, the will of the people ſeated LOUIS XVI. on the throne. in deſpite of the dangers to which freedom muſt be expoſed by his regret for his former power.

To deſtroy the rights of the Engliſh, JAMES II. employed corrupt judges, and the ſervile complaiſance of partial authorities. He had two councils; the one public, which with reſerve aided his projects of uſurpation; the other private, which forced him raſhly to haſten the eſtabliſhment of popery and tyranny.

LOUIS XVI. in like manner; had two councils; the one moderate, which endeavoured to deſtroy freedom by the aid of the conſtitution; the other, more eager, prepared means to deliver up the people to the emigrants, and France to foreign armies.

LOUIS XVI. had likewiſe ſought uſeful allies in the courts of juſtice, and the directories of departments.

JAMES II. had protected the Parliament, after having deceived it by falſe promiſes. LOUIS XVI. not poſſeſſing this dangerous privilege, attained the ſame end by corrupting the Legiſlative Body, and preventing any conſtant majority from being formed.

JAMES II. provided a fleet and an army, of which he believed himſelf the maſter. LOUIS XVI. had ſecretly formed a troop of ſatellites, who had ſold themſelves to his cauſe, and thought himſelf ſure of a powerful party in the national guard and the army.

JAMES was ſecretly connected with LOUIS XIV. whom the Engliſh nation regarded as its moſt dangerous enemy. The EMPEROR and the KING of PRUSSIA, made war on France, in the name and for the ſupport of LOUIS XVI.; and the means of defence, which the nation beſtowed with prodigality

lity, were half annihilated by paſſing through the hands of the King and his Miniſters.

Both thought themſelves certain of power ſufficient to ſuppreſs freedom, and both imagined they had deceived the people; inſtead of which, they did but mutually convince all clear-ſighted citizens of the neceſſity of a new Revolution.

The two nations were not preciſely in the ſame ſituation. In England the body of the people, diſcontented, angry, but terrified by the recent recollection of the civil wars, and benumbed by the corrupt reign of CHARRES II. was diſpoſed to embrace that Revolution, which they were incapable to effect. The Parliament was not convoked, and the friends of liberty were without a ſupport. Hence it was neceſſary to call in the PRINCE of ORANGE to their aid, who, by a ſingular concatenation of events, had connected his perſonal intereſt with that of the Engliſh nation.

WILLIAM, who found no oppoſition on his paſſage from the Engliſh fleet, came at the head of a Dutch army. JAMES was abandoned by his troops, fled, was brought back to London, and left it by order of his ſon-in-law, who appointed a place to which he was permitted to retire. He eſcaped a ſecond time, and WILLIAM did not endeavour to impede his flight.

In France the people, to whom freedom was a new enjoyment and the love of equality a real paſſion, could not, undiſturbed, ſee themſelves threatened by plots which they could not diſcover, but the fearful proofs of which were inceſſantly before their eyes.

They addreſſed their Repreſentatives, and were heard; but a great number of theſe repreſentatives, ſervilely attached to the letter of the Conſtitution they had ſworn to maintain, beheld with a kind of terror thoſe meaſures which every day became more ſenſibly neceſſary, but which required a bolder interpretation of the Conſtitution. The citizens, therefore, imagined themſelves obliged to take the power into their own hands.

The King fled for an aſylum to the National Aſſembly; yet foreign troops, preſerved contrary to law, and united to the chiefs and the menials of the conſpiracy, fired from the palace of the Thuilleries on the citizens, at the very moment that they were reciprocally interchanging expreſſions of peace and good-will.

The

The palace was forced, the conſpirators and their ſoldiers put to flight, and there then only remained citizens who had but one opinion, and the repreſentatives of thoſe citizens whoſe authority was reſpected, and among whom public confidence, which preceding events had but ſuſpended, might once again find a central point of action.

Here every circumſtance gives the advantage to the French nation.

A conſiderable portion of the people, combining by ſpontaneous impulſe, and addreſſing themſelves to a legal aſſembly of the whole, depart much leſs from the common order of law than a particular aſſociation of citizens, addreſſing themſelves to a foreign Prince; and the influence of the former portion of the people, armed in their own defence, was much leſs dangerous to freedom than the preſence of a foreign army, devoted to the will of a ſingle chief. It was abſolutely and really impoſſible for the King of the French to reſume his functions as it was for the King of England, after his flight; and the two nations equally found themſelves deſtitute of all government.

In England the former Parliament was not aſſembled, and could not be convoked but by the King; and as JAMES had diſſolved it, and had afterward retracted the order he had given for its meeting once more, there conſequently did not exiſt any repreſentative power.

But the Engliſh Parliament was compoſed of two Houſes, the one of which was hereditary, and therefore always ſubſiſting; thus ſuch of the Members of the Upper Houſe as happened to be then in London, believed themſelves inveſted, by neceſſity, with the right of aſſuming the whole power to themſelves. They aſſembled, and beſtowed the government on the PRINCE of ORANGE. WILLIAM accepted the gift, but knew that the people of England had ſome right to be conſulted, and that the hereditary ſenators were but the repreſentatives of themſelves. His firſt care, therefore, was to convoke thoſe Members of the former Houſe of Commons, who were then in London, and with them a part of the Corporation of the city. This irregular and incomplete repreſentation confirmed the plan of the Peers, and the government was committed to the Prince, one part of which, according to the common law, was the right of convoking Parliaments. Accordingly, he haſtened to call a

Parliament,

Parliament, under the name of a Convention. This was the name given to the Parliament, which recalled CHARLES II. the term Parliament being rigorouſly confined to thoſe aſſemblies, which are convoked in the name of the King. But the Convention of 1688, like that of 1660, could not but have preciſely the ſame organization as the Parliaments, and like them be divided into two Houſes, the mutual agreement of which was neceſſary to expreſs the will of the nation. Thus could the will of about two hundred aſſume the right of expreſſing the will of the whole people; and if there be any who dare ſtill affirm, that an inſtitution like this is not an attack on the rights of natural equality, and ſuch as no power can legalize, they muſt at leaſt confeſs it is abſurd and tyrannical, when it is neceſſary to decide on thoſe fundamental queſtions, which the laws have not foreſeen, and on which the national will is not *really* conſulted, unleſs it be conſulted with the moſt perfect equality.

Thus, for example, the Engliſh miniſtry can neither regard this convention as illegal, nor diſpute its power of reforming that, which in the conſtitutional act ſhall appear to it to be prejudicial to liberty, without, at the ſame time, attacking the legality of the convention of 1689, and that of the reſolutions, which emanated from that convention. The miniſters, who ſhould adviſe ſuch a conduct, muſt by ſuch advice confeſs, 1. That the Houſe of Hanover has uſurped the throne of England, and that it appertains to the King of SARDINIA; 2. That the Engliſh nation has no right to make any change in its conſtitution, except by the will of the King; 3. That the King may violate the conſtitution with impunity, and that the nation has no legal means either of oppoſition or reſtriction; which opinion no miniſter could purſue in act without rendering himſelf guilty of high treaſon; nay, they muſt conclude that they are certain of having nothing to fear for the preſervation of the throne of the Houſe of Hanover, and they muſt intend to eſtabliſh it as law, that this houſe poſſeſſes the crown by pure hereditary right; that it has not received it from the people; that all the claims and pretenſions of the former Kings of England to arbitrary power have been tranſmitted to the reigning family; and they muſt further mean to ſupport the opinions of the divine rights of kings, of paſſive obedience, of the diſpenſing power, &c. and, in a

word, all thoſe maxims deſtructive to freedom, which were formerly held by the STUARTS, and practiced by the TUDORS.

In like manner, it was in conſequence of this opinion of an original contract, that the United Provinces, and the Swiſs Cantons, ſhook off the yoke of their ancient lords, who were hereditary chiefs, and at the head of the executive power. It was the violation of ſuch contracts, ſubſcribed to by theſe lords, which was the motive for depoſing them; and neither the Dutch nor the Swiſs can refuſe to acknowledge the legality and juſtice of the conduct of the French nation, without declaring that they will ſubmit themſelves to the heirs of the houſe of Auſtria.

Thoſe men, therefore, who, like the French, love true liberty, who know that it cannot exiſt without an entire equality, and who acknowledge the ſovereignty of the people, are not the only perſons who ought to approve the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt. All who do not acknowledge an inherent power in kings and princes, independent of the people, of which they cannot be deprived, either by their uſurpations or their crimes, that is to ſay, all thoſe who would not be ſlaves, muſt equally approve the preſent revolution of France, and the revolution of England. Both parties, thoſe who would preſerve all, and thoſe who wiſh not to loſe all their rights, ſuch as they find them preſerved by the laws of their country, muſt mutually approve the French revolution.

The creatures of tyrants have dared to reproach the French with the crime of calling on all nations to the enjoyments of the firſt rights of man, liberty and equality, which are likewiſe the greateſt good;—they accuſe them of wiſhing to ſubvert the world, becauſe they wiſh the voice of reaſon to be heard, and of univerſally kindling the flames of diſcord, becauſe they are deſirous that the torch of truth ſhould begin to blaze.

At preſent this reſpectable zeal, which is ſo vilely calumniated, is not the queſtion. We do not aſk foreign nations to riſe to thoſe principles, in ſupport of which we have ſworn to meet death; we only requeſt them not to abandon ſuch as men, worthy of the name, have profeſſed theſe four hundred years, in times even of ignorance and ſuperſtition; we entreat them not to deſcend below the ſtandard of the fourteenth century, and not to whet that tyrant ſword which,

at

at preſent directed againſt us, will ſoon return to pierce the the hand that drew it.

We tell the Engliſh, the Dutch, the Swiſs, the Swedes, the inhabitants of the Imperial cities, and thoſe ſubjects of the Princes of the Empire, who have ſtill preſerved ſome franchiſes, as well as the various nobles who reſide in the ſtates of Hungary, Auſtria, and Bohemia, that our cauſe is theirs, and that they cannot ſupport the maxims of the Emperor and the King of Pruſſia without abjuring all their rights, and conſecrating themſelves to ſervitude.

There are two ſpecies of free conſtitutions in exiſtence, or at leaſt having the forms of freedom.—The firſt, like thoſe of a part of the united ſtates of America, have one ſingle principle of deciſion, by which all queſtions on which judgment muſt be paſſed, and all affairs in which public ſafety requires an active part ſhould be taken, are neceſſarily brought to a concluſion.

The other, on the contrary, like the Engliſh conſtitution, has a double or triple principle of deciſion. According to this, nothing leſs than the agreement of all the powers to which the right of deciding is conſided, can produce a final determination, and the want of this agreement between theſe independent powers, can ſtop the activity of the ſocial ſyſtem.

If conſtitutions like this have been the reſult of the antient cuſtoms of a nation—if at the moment in which they have aſſumed a regular form, thoſe to whom they gave a right of acting in contradiction to the will of the people, have had the prudence never to practice this right; if, inſtead of an unity of principle eſtabliſhed by law, their policy has ſubſtituted another (as in England, for example) the maxim of never reſiſting the two Houſes of Parliament, and of never acting in contradiction even of one of them, except on extraordinary occaſions, when the majority is weak and appears not to accord with the national will, then, indeed, ſuch conſtitutions may continue for a long time without exciting troubles.

But if, on the contrary, the habit of diſguiſing an eſſential and radical vice ſhould not prevail; if in a firſt attempt thoſe who exercciſed a negative right over the repreſentatives of the people, have abuſed that right; if the nation has been informed of the inconveniences and dangers reſulting from this combination of independent powers, then

ſuch a conſtitution cannot but be fatal to the tranquility and the freedom of the citizens: then unity of principle becomes an eſſential condition of the ſocial ſyſtem, and the nation would be expoſed to proceed from revolution to revolution, till it ſhould arrive at this neceſſary ſimplicity; becauſe it could no longer reſt ſatisfied with poſſeſſing it in fact, as at preſent in England, for it could not ſuppoſe itſelf ſecure unleſs the principle were eſtabliſhed by law.

Thus the unfortunate attempt made in France, to form a conſtitution with a double principle, has rendered its continuance impoſſible. Enlightened men foretold this: but their counſels were rejected. The perſon to whom the dangerous right of oppoſition was entruſted, as might have been foreſeen, beheld in this right the means only of ſuſpending the activity of the two powers, of betraying them with impunity, and by the aid of the conſtitution of deſtroying freedom.

From this time, therefore, foreign powers may contemplate France as directed to the future by one united will; and that, in her external connections, ſhe can have no other motive for action, but that of ſafety and proſperity. All ſtates, whatever their government, from the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, to the Republics of Baſle and Zurick, from the Dukes of Saxony and Wirtemberg, to the cities of Hamburgh or of Franckfort, ought to conſider France as the only barrier, over the whole continent, which can be oppoſed to the coalition of great monarchies, and the ſole guarantee of the independence of inferior powers.

Mean time all ideas of a faction apart from the nation itſelf, of a will of the people of Paris diſtinct from that of the departments, all the chimeras credited by the Court of the Thuilleries, and of intriguing partiſans, who call themſelves conſtitutional, all the fables. under the guidance of which, Louis XVI. conducted his double conſpiracy, no longer can deceive any man; and Europe cannot but be convinced, that Ruſſia and Auſtria alone have an intereſt in troubling France; that the King of Pruſſia is the dupe of that ambition with which they have inſpired him, and that his ſafety like that of the other independant ſtates of Europe, is connected with the preſervation of the power of France, which cannot be deſtroyed without dragging after it in its fall, the ſovereignty and freedom of all other nations.

Such

Such is the point of view in which the revolution of the 10th of Auguſt cannot fail to be ſeen by men capable of reflection, whatever may be their country and their principles.

Whoever wiſh not to paſs under the yoke of Catherine Francis, or William, all who hope to preſerve their property, liberty, and ſome little honour, independant of *their* gracious will and pleaſure, ought to combine with the French nation, and univerſally to unite in oppoſition to that vile ſwarm of marauders, who, under the name of French emigrants, have ſpread falſehood and corruption through foreign countries. What! Can the heroes who have ſerved under FREDERIC the GREAT, DAUN, and LAUDON, deſcend to be the vile inſtruments of CALONNE, BRETEUIL, and BOUILLE, alternately fattened by the blood ſtreaming from their ſlaves, and the intrigues of miſtreſſes and miniſters, the profits of which they partook?

Will the Pruſſian nation perſiſt in making war on the French, who conſidered an alliance with Pruſſia as a means of eſcaping the ſnares laid by the court of LOUIS XVI.? A war made in favour of that very court which refuſed this alliance, and ſacrificed the intereſt of France and the ſafety of Pruſſia to the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria? How can the European powers, who have acknowledged the PRINCE of ORANGE as the ſubſtitute of JAMES II. diſapprove the elective council that has been ſubſtituted to the King of the French? Why cannot the French nation act relatively to LOUIS XVI. as the United Provinces of America have acted with reſpect to GEORGE III.?

Let us ſuppoſe that the French will form a conſtitution founded upon pure equality; that this conſtitution, propoſed by a national convention in conformity to the will of the people, ſhould be fully adopted by the nation; that no hereditary rights, no perſonal inviolability, no predominating power, dangerous to liberty, ſully this conſtitution, nor oblige it to invent a counterpoiſe, an oppoſition of power to power, deſtructive of ſimplicity and the operations of government; that the expreſſion of the national convention will become one; that no reſiſtance can impede it; that the people themſelves appoint their own repreſentatives, and that ſage precautions prevent any inconveniencies which might ariſe from theſe two laſt inſtitutions; will the powers of Europe then refuſe to acknowledge us as acting for the nation,

nation, becauſe we ſhall have rigorouſly followed the immutable principles of natural right? If ſo, they muſt avow, by their conduct, that the principle which are true in America are falſe in Europe; and that the ſame maxim is true or falſe, criminal or virtuous, according as their inſidious policy requires.

The preceding tranſlation, is copied with ſome ſlight alterations from the *Star*, It was deemed unneceſſary to retranſlate ſo ſhort a piece. The ſucceeding expoſition is tranſlated expreſsly from the original.

An Expoſition of the Motives, which induced the National Aſſembly to proclaim the Convocation of a National Convention, and to decree the Suſpenſion of the Executive Power in the hands of the King.

Publiſhed by order of the National Aſſembly, 1792.

THE National Aſſembly, owe to the nation, to Europe, and to poſterity, a rigid account of the motives which have determined their late decrees.—Impelled on the one hand, by the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and on the other, by that of ſaving their country—they have been deſirous of fulfilling both at once; and of doing every thing which the public ſafety required, without uſurping thoſe powers with which the people had not entruſted them.

At the opening of their ſeſſion, a body of Emigrants aſſembled upon the frontiers, correſponded with all thoſe ſecret enemies of liberty who ſtill remained in the departments, or mingled among the troops of the line: while fanatic prieſts raiſed ſcruples in the minds of the ſuperſtitious, and endeavoured to perſuade the miſguided people, that the conſtitution was hoſtile to the rights of conſcience; and that the law had confided the functions of religion to the ſchiſmatic and the ſacrilegious.

At length, a league formed between powerful monarchs, menaced the liberty of France. They deemed themſelves entitled

entitled to fix that point at which the common intereſt of their deſpotic ſyſtem might permit *us* to be free, and they flattered themſelves with the expectation of ſeeing the ſovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French nation, bow down before the armies of their ſlaves.

Hence, every thing announced a civil and a religious war, of which the evils were ſoon to be augmented by a foreign invaſion.

The National Aſſembly thought it their duty to ſuppreſs the emigrants, and to reſtrain the factious prieſts by ſevere decrees; againſt theſe decrees, the King applied the ſuſpenſive refuſal, accorded to him by the conſtitution, Theſe emigrants meanwhile, and theſe prieſts, acted in *the name of the King;* it was to eſtabliſh what they called *his legitimate authority*, that the one took up arms, and the other preached treaſon and aſſaſſination. Theſe emigrants, were the brothers of the King; his parents, his courtiers, his former guards. And while the connection of theſe facts and the conduct of the Monarch, not only authorized but compelled diſtruſt, the refuſal of his ſanction, applied to decrees, which could not be ſuſpended without being annihilated, evidently ſhewed that a veto intended by the law to be *ſuſpenſive*, but become from the circumſtances of its application *definitive*, afforded the Monarch an unlimited and arbitrary power of annulling all ſuch meaſures, as the legiſlative body deemed neceſſary to the maintenance of liberty.

From this moment, the people from one end of the empire to the other, began to ſhew thoſe ſymptoms of general uneaſineſs, which announced a future ſtorm; and ſuſpicions levelled at the executive power, manifeſted themſelves on every ſide.

The National Aſſembly was not diſcouraged. Princes, who called themſelves allies of France, afforded the emigrants not merely an aſſylum, but the liberty of arming themſelves and forming troops, of enliſting ſoldiers, and amaſſing neceſſaries for a war. The King was invited by a ſolemn meſſage, on occaſion of this infringement of the law of nations, to break that ſilence which had already laſted too long. He *ſeemed* to give way to the national will: preparations for war were directed; but it was ſoon perceived that negociations carried on by a weak or complotting miniſter,

miniſter, availed no more, than to obtain ineffectual promiſes, which remaining unexecuted, could be regarded in no other light than as a ſnare or an affront.

The confederacy of Kings, however, proceeded with freſh activity: at the head of this confederacy, appeared the Emperor, brother-in-law to the King of the French, and allied to the French nation by a treaty advantageous to himſelf alone, and which the Conſtituent aſſembly, (deceived by the miniſter) had maintained, at the expence of an alliance with the houſe of Brandenburgh.

The National Aſſembly deemed it eſſential to the ſecurity of France, to oblige the Emperor to declare whether he would be their ally, or their enemy: and to decide between two contradictory engagements, whereof the one called on him to aſſiſt, and the other to attack France: Engagements which he could no otherwiſe reconcile than by avowing an intention to ſeparate the King from the nation, and to regard a war againſt the French people, as an aſſiſtance afforded to his French ally. The anſwer of the Emperor encreaſed the diſtruſt, which this combination of circumſtances ſo naturally induced. He repeated, againſt the Aſſembly of national repreſentatives; and againſt the popular ſocieties eſtabliſhed in our cities, the ſame abſurd invectives, with which the emigrants and the partiſans of the French miniſter had ſo long burthened the counter-revolution preſſes. He proteſted his deſire of remaining the ally of the King, and he acceded to a new league againſt France in ſupport of the authority of the King of the French.

Theſe leagues, theſe treaties, theſe intrigues of the Emigrants, who acted on theſe occaſions in the King's name, were concealed by the King's miniſters from the repreſentatives of the people. No public diſavowal of theſe intrigues, no ſtrong effort to prevent or to diſperſe the confederacy of Monarchs, had taken place, to convince the citizens of France or the people of Europe, that the King had ſincerely joined his cauſe to the cauſe of the nation.

This evident connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna, had ſtruck every mind. The National Aſſembly thought it their duty to enter into a ſtrict examination of the conduct of the miniſter for foreign affairs; and a decree of accuſation againſt him was the reſult. His colleagues diſappeared together with himſelf, and the King's council was then compoſed of patriotic miniſters.

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The ſucceſſor of LEOPOLD purſued his father's politics. He wiſhed to exact for the Princes who held poſſeſſions in Alſace, a recompence incompatible with the French Conſtitution, and contrary to the independence of the nation. He required that France ſhould betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the inhabitants of Avignon. He announced alſo further complaints, which he declared could not be diſcuſſed till the fate of arms had been tried.

The King ſeemed ſenſible that this provocation to hoſtilities, could not be tolerated without exhibiting the moſt ignominious weakneſs. He ſeemed to feel the perfidy of this language from an enemy who appeared to be intereſted on *his* account, and to deſire *his* alliance for no other purpoſe but to ſow diſcord between him and his people, to enervate our force, and to put a ſtop to, or confuſe the movements of it. He therefore propoſed war, with the unanimous advice of his counſel, and war was decreed.

By protecting the aſſemblage of emigrants, by permitting them to menace the frontiers, by providing troops ready to aſſiſt them in caſe of incipient ſucceſs, by preparing them a retreat, and by perſiſting in a menacing confederacy, the King of Hungary compelled the French to make ruinous preparations of defence; he exhauſted their finances, he encouraged the audacity of the conſpirators, who were ſcattered among the departments, he excited diſquiet among the citizens, and by that means fomented and perpetuated the public trouble. Never was a war juſtified by acts of hoſtility more deciſive, and to declare war under ſuch circumſtances, was no more than to repel them.

The National Aſſembly was then enabled to judge how wretchedly all the preparations of defence had been neglected, notwithſtanding the promiſes ſo often repeated. Nevertheleſs, the popular diſcontent and miſtruſt fell entirely on the former miniſtry, and the ſecret adviſers of the king; but they ſoon ſaw the Patriotic Miniſters, oppoſed in all their operations, attacked with acrimony by the Partizans of the Royal authority, and by thoſe who made a parade of perſonal attachment to the King.

Our armies were harraſſed by political diviſions; and among the chiefs of the forces, diſcord was ſown, as well as between the Generals and the Miniſtry. There was a manifeſt deſign of converting into the inſtruments of a party

(who wiſhed to ſubſtitute its will for the will of the nation) thoſe very armies who were deſtined to the exterior defence of the kingdom, and to the maintenance of the national independance.

As the machinations of the the prieſts became more active on the eve of a war, a law to repreſs them became indiſpenſable. Such a law was propoſed. The formation of a camp near Paris, was excellently calculated for exterior departments, and to prevent thoſe diſturbances which their uneaſineſs might produce. The formation of this camp was decreed; but both theſe decrees were rejected by the King, and the Patriot Miniſters were diſmiſſed.

The Conſtitution had allowed the King a guard of 1800 men: this guard audaciouſly exhibited an incivic diſpoſition, which excited indignation and fear among the citizens. An hatred of the Conſtitution, and above all, of Liberty and Equality, were the beſt titles of admiſſion into this corps.

The Aſſembly was compelled to diſſolve this guard, to prevent the diſturbances, which it would ſpeedily have created, and the conſpiracies in favour of a Counter-Revolution, of which it already ſhewed too evident ſigns.

This decree received the Royal ſanction. But it was followed by a Royal Proclamation in praiſe of the very men whom it diſmiſſed, and whom it acknowledged to be juſtly accuſed of being hoſtile to the cauſe of Liberty.

The new Miniſters were the objects of well grounded ſuſpicion, but as this ſuſpicion could not now be confined to them, it reached the King.

The refuſal of his ſanction to decrees, which circumſtances made neceſſary, and of which the execution ſhould have been prompt, and have ceaſed with the cauſe, was regarded in public eſtimation, as an application of a Conſtitutional privilege, in direct oppoſition to the ſpirit of the Conſtitution. The agitation of the Pariſians was now extreme: an immenſe concourſe of citizens, met to frame a petition.—They requeſted the recal of the Patriot Miniſters, and the retraction of the King's refuſal to ſanction the decrees ſo evidently agreeable to the wiſhes of the public. They demanded permiſſion to paſs armed through the midſt of the Aſſembly, after their petition had been read. This permiſſion which other armed corps had before obtained, was accorded to the Petitioners They deſired to preſent a ſimilar petition

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to the King, and to preſent it according to the eſtabliſhed legal forms. But at the inſtant when the municipal officers announcod to the people, that their deputies, hitherto refuſed admittance, were about to be admitted, the door opened, and the crowd preſſed into the Palace. The zeal of the Mayor of Paris, the aſcendance which his virtue and his Patriotiſm gave him over the people, and the preſence of the National Repreſentatives, (of whom ſucceſſive deputations ſurrounded the monarch) prevented all diſorders. And indeed, few collections of people ſo numerous have produced ſo little diſorder.

The King had planted the enſigns of liberty; he had rendered juſtice to the citizens, by declaring that he thought himſelf in ſafety in the midſt of them: the day of federation drew near: Citizens from all the departments were about to aſſemble at Paris, there to take an oath to ſupport that liberty for whoſe ſake they were going to battle on the Frontiers: paſt faults might now have been repaired. The miniſters however, regarded the 20th of June in no other light than as a favourable opportunity to ſow diſſentions between the inhabitants of Paris, and thoſe of the departments; between the people and the army; between the different bodies of the National Guards; between the citizens who remained at their homes, and thoſe who were marching to the Frontiers. By mourning the language of the King was altered. A proclamation replete with calumny was induſtriouſly circulated among the armies: one of the Generals* in the name of his troops, came to demand vengeance, and to mark out his victims. A conſiderable number of directories of the department, in the unconſtitutional *Arrets* which they iſſued, gave a glimpſe of a project which they had long formed, and by which they were to form themſelves into an intermediate power between the people and the repreſentatives between the Aſſembly and the King. In the very palace of the Thuilleries, ſome juſtices of peace, had commenced obſcure proceſſes, in which they expected to involve thoſe of the patriots whom they deemed moſt formidable for their vigilance or their abilities. Already one of theſe juſtices had attempted an attack on the perſonal inviolability of the repreſentatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan not ill contrived, to give an arbitrary extenſion to the royal authority, by means of the forms of judicial proceed-

* Fayette.

ings. Letters from the miniſter of the home department, directed force to be employed againſt the Federates, who were on their road to Paris, there to take an oath to fight for the cauſe of liberty; and all the activity of the National Aſſembly, all the patriotiſm of the army, all the zeal of enlightened citizens were neceſſary to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of anarchy ſo evidently tending to light up the flames of a civil war. A patriotic movement in the National Aſſembly, had ſtifled by a fraternal union, the unhappy diſſentions which too frequently broke forth there, and might yet have given birth to means of ſafety. The proceſſes inſtituted by the command of the King, and under the direction of the Comptroller of the civil liſt, might have been ſtopt. The virtuous Perion, puniſhed by an unjuſt ſuſpenſion for having ſpared the blood of the people, might have been reinſtated by the King, and it was poſſible that the long train of faults and of treacheries might ſtill have been attributed to thoſe perfidious adviſers, to whom the too credulous people had long been in the habit of aſcribing the crimes of their Kings.

The Aſſembly now perceived that extraordinary meaſures were neceſſary to the ſafety of the public.

They commenced a diſcuſſion on the means of ſaving their country; and they appointed a committee to conſider and prepare a report.

The declaration that the country was in danger, ſummoned all the citizens to the common defence, and all the public functionaries to their reſpective poſts. Nevertheleſs, in the midſt of theſe inceſſant complaints on the inaction of Government on the evident negligence or ill contrivance of the preparations for war, on movements of the army, either uſeleſs or dangerous, and of which the acknowledged intention was, to favour the political deſigns of one of the Generals,—the public beheld, unknown or ſuſpected miniſters employed in rapid ſucceſſion, and exhibiting under new names, the old ſyſtem of inactivity, and the ſame principles of conduct.

The manifeſto of one of the enemies' commanders, who denounced death to every advocate of freedom, and who promiſed his inglorious protection to cowards and to traitors, reaſonably augmented the public ſuſpicions. The enemy of France, ſeemed buſied entirely in defence of the French King. Twenty-ſix millions of people were, in his eſtimation,

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of no conſequence whatever, in compariſon with a titled family; the blood of the multitude was to overſpread the land in revenge for the ſlighteſt affronts; and the King inſtead of teſtifying his indignation againſt a manifeſto, calculated to deprive him of the people's confidence, reluctantly oppoſed to it, a cold and timid diſavowal.

Who then can be ſurprized that the popular diſtruſt of the executive magiſtrate ſhould inſpire the citizens with a deſire of ſeeing the King, (in whoſe name the kingdom was attacked) deprived of the diſpoſal of thoſe forces which were deſtined to the common defence? that King, to whom the care of maintaining internal tranquility was committed, while *his* particular intereſts were the open pretext of all the troubles!

To theſe motives, common to the whole people of France, others were joined, peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris. They ſaw the relations of the conſpirators at Coblentz, compoſe the conſtant and familiar ſociety of the King, and of his family. Writers, bribed by the civil liſt meanwhile, were endeavouring by treacherous calumnies to render the Pariſians odious to or ſuſpected by the reſt of France. They attempted to ſow diſcord between the poor and the rich citizens. Perfidious manœuvres were employed to agitate the National Guard, and to form among them a royal party. In fine, the enemies of liberty ſeemed divided between Paris and Coblentz, and their boldneſs encreaſed with their numbers.

The conſtitution charged the King to notify to the National Aſſembly, imminent hoſtilities, but long ſolicitations were neceſſary to obtain from the miniſter the tardy information of the march of the Pruſſian troops. The conſtitution pronounced againſt the King, a legal abdication of the throne, if he did not oppoſe by ſome formal operations, thoſe hoſtilities which were commenced againſt the nation in his name. The emigrant princes, had hired in his name, regiments of Frenchmen; they had compoſed for his uſe a military eſtabliſhment out of France; and theſe facts were known above ſix months, before the King, (whoſe public declarations and proteſts to foreign powers might have put a ſtop to theſe manœuvres) fulfilled the duty impoſed on him by the conſtitution, by informing the Aſſembly.

It was in conſequence of motives thus powerful, that the numerous petitions from a great number of departments,

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and the vote of ſeveral ſections of Paris, followed by a vote of the whole commonalty *(le commune)* ſolicited the forfeiture of the King, or the ſuſpenſion of the royal authority, and the Aſſembly, therefore, could no longer refuſe to diſcuſs this great queſtion.

It was the duty of the Aſſembly, to declare only in conſequence of a mature and profound examination, of a ſolemn diſcuſſion, and a duly weighing of every opinion advanced. But the patience of the people was exhauſted: all on a ſudden they ſeemed again united for one common purpoſe, and in one common will. They proceeded to the reſidence of the King, who ſought an aſylum in the boſom of the Aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the people; well knowing that the fraternal union between the inhabitants of Paris, and the citizens of the departments, rendered that aſſembly a *ſacred* aſylum.

National Guards were charged to defend the reſidence which the King had abandoned: but among them Swiſs ſoldiers had been placed. The people had for a long time, with ſurprize and diſquiet, ſeen battalions of Swiſs ſoldiers partake the duty of guarding the King, altho' the conſtitution forbad his having a foreign guard. It was for a long time eaſy to foreſee that this direct violation of the law, which from its nature was obvious to every citizen, would ſooner or later be the cauſe of great diſturbances. The National Aſſembly had neglected no means of preventing them. Reports, diſcuſſions, motions by individual members referred to committees, had forewarned the King for ſome months paſt, of the neceſſity of diſbanding from his immediate employ, men, whom in every other place and ſituation the French had always regarded as friends and brethren; but whom they could not behold in the immediate ſervice of a conſtitutional King, and in deſpite of the conſtitution, without ſuſpecting them as having become the enemies of liberty.

A decree of the Aſſembly had diſbanded them: but their chief, ſupported by the miniſter, demanded alterations in it. The Aſſembly conſented. One part of the ſoldiery was to remain in Paris, but without any ſuch employment as might create public uneaſineſs: it was therefore in deſpite of a decree of the Aſſembly, and in deſpite of the law, that on the 10th of Auguſt they were employed upon a duty, from which every principle of prudence and humanity ſhould

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have driven them. They received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the very moment when theſe latter invited them to peace; and when ſigns of friendſhip of the moſt unequivocal nature declared their acceptance of the invitation; and at the very moment when a deputation from the National Aſſembly was advancing in the midſt of the armed troops, to bring offers of reconciliation and to prevent carnage. After this, nothing could put a ſtop to the reſentment of the people, who experienced a new act of treachery at the very time when they came to complain of thoſe repeated acts of the ſame nature, of which they had ſo long been the victims.

In the midſt of theſe diſaſters, the National Aſſembly, afflicted, but calm, took the oath to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at their poſt: they took the oath to ſave their country, and they proceeded to inveſtigate the means.

Of theſe they ſaw but one: and that was to recur to the ſupreme will of the people, and to invite them to exerciſe in the firſt inſtance that inalienable right of ſovereignty, which the conſtitution had acknowledged, and to which it had no right to affix any bounds. The public intereſt required that the people ſhould declare their will, by means of a National Convention, formed from among the people, and inveſted with unreſtricted powers: it equally required that the members of this convention ſhould be choſen in each department in an uniform and regular manner. But the Aſſembly could not reſtrain the power of the ſovereign people, from whom alone that Aſſembly derived its own authority. It was a duty incumbent therefore on the National Repreſentatives to reſtrict themſelves to an earneſt requeſt, that the people would follow the ſimple regulations which the Aſſembly had traced out. It reſpected the forms of proceeding already appointed, becauſe new modes, even had they been preferable in themſelves, would have occaſioned delay, and perhaps diviſions. It reſerved none of the conditions of eligibility, no reſtrictions on the right of electing or being elected, eſtabliſhed by former laws, becauſe thoſe laws which are themſelves ſo many reſtrictions on the right of ſovereignty, could not be applicable to a National Convention wherein that right ought to be exerted with perfect independance. Neither did the diſtinction between the *active* and *paſſive* citizens find place; for that alſo

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was a reſtriction of law. The only conditions required, were thoſe that nature herſelf had impoſed, ſuch as the neceſſity of dwelling upon the territory where the right of voting was exerciſed, to be of the age whereat the laws of the land preſume a capability of exerciſing perſonal right; and laſtly to have preſerved an independance of choice.

But time was neceſſary to collect together new repreſentatives of the people; and altho' the National Aſſembly had haſtened the periods of operation which the Convention required; altho' it had accelerated the moment when it ſhould ceaſe to bear the weight of public affairs, that it might avoid the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of ambitious deſigns—the term of forty days, would nevertheleſs have expoſed the kingdom to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous movements, if the King had been permitted to retain the powers veſted in him by the conſtitution: and the ſuſpenſion of theſe powers ſeemed to the repreſentatives of the people, the only method of preſerving France and liberty.

In pronouncing this neceſſary ſuſpenſion, the Aſſembly did not exceed its powers. The conſtitution authorized it to pronounce a ſuſpenſion, in the caſe of the King's abſence, where the length of ſuch abſence did not induce a *legal abdication*; that is to ſay, in the caſe where there was not yet ground for a definitive reſolution, but where a proviſionary rigour was evidently neceſſary—where it would have been manifeſtly abſurd to leave the power in hands where it could not freely or uſefully be employed. But in the caſe in queſtion, the conditions required are found conjoined with the very kind of evidence to which the conſtitution had looked forward; and in conducting ourſelves by the principles traced out by that conſtitution, ſo far from having been guilty of a breach of our oaths toward it, we have obeyed it.

The conſtitution had foreſeen, that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change the repreſentatives of the people into their tyrants. But it judged alſo, that this danger implied a long exerciſe of that extraordinary power; and the period of two months, was the term it fixed for the exiſtence of every caſe, wherein it permitted ſuch a re-union, which in other reſpects it had ſo ſeverely preſcribed.

The National Aſſembly far from prolonging its durarion, reduced it to 40 days only; and inſtead of extending on

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the plea of neceſſity, the term preſcribed by the law, it willingly confined itſelf within limits ſtill more narrow.

The conſtitution has declared, that when the power of giving ſanction to the laws is ſuſpended, the legiſlative body itſelf ſhall poſſeſs that character and authority. And ſince he to whom the conſtitution had accorded the choice of miniſters, could no longer exerciſe his functions, it was neceſſary that a new regulation ſhould place that choice in other hands. The aſſembly thought it right to aſſume that office themſelves; ſince it could not be given unleſs to ſuch electors (of miniſters) as would belong to the nation at large; and the aſſembly itſelf was of that deſcription. But that aſſembly wonld not permit even a ſuſpicion of intereſted or ambitious views to attach to it on this occaſion; and it was decreed therefore, that the election ſhould be conducted by open voice; that ſuch of the members ſhould pronounce his choice, before the national repreſentatives and before the numerons citizens who are uſually preſent at the ſittings of the Aſſembly. It was deſirous that ſuch of its members, ſhould have his colleagues for his judges, the public for his witneſs, and that he ſhould be reſponſible for his choice to the nation at large.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces againſt a foreign tyranny, which has dared to menace with its vengeance, twenty-ſix million of freemen. In ſix weeks, an authority which every citizen will acknowledge, will decide upon our differences. Ill befall that man, who during that ſhort ſpace ſhall be occupied by perſonal and intereſted paſſions or motives; who ſhall not devote himſelf completely to the common defence; who will not ſee, that from the moment when the ſovereign will of the people ſhall make itſelf known, France has no other enemies, than the conſpirators of Pilnitz and their accomplices.

It is in the midſt of a foreign war, and while numerous armies are preparing a formidable invaſion, that we invite the citizens to diſcuſs in a peaceable aſſembly the rights of freedom. What with other people would have been deemed raſh, has not appeared to us beyond the courage and the patriotiſm of Frenchmen; we know that we ſhall not experience the unhappineſs of diſappointment, in judging you worthy of forgetting every intereſt but the intereſt of Liberty, and of ſacrificing every ſentiment to the love of your country.

Citizens, it is for you to decide, whether your repreſentatives have employed the authority with which you have entruſted them, for your happineſs; whether they have fulfilled your views in uſing that authority in a way and upon an occaſion, which neither they nor you could foreſee. For our parts we have fulfilled our duty, in boldly ſeizing upon the only means which occurred to us as effectual to the ſalvation of our country. Ready to meet death at the poſt to which you have appointed us, we ſhall at leaſt carry with us on quitting it, the conſolation of having well ſerved. Whatever judgment our contemporaries or poſterity may paſs upon us, we have not to dread the deciſion of our own conſcience: to whatever danger we may be expoſed, we ſhall have the ſatisfaction remaining of having prevented ſtreams of French blood, which a more indeciſive conduct would infalliably have produced; we ſhall at leaſt eſcape from the ſtings of remorſe, nor ſhall we have to repreſent to ourſelves that we ſaw the means of ſaving our country, but feared to adopt them.

(Signed) GUADET, *Preſident*

GOUJON
G. ROMME
MARANS
CRESTIN
ARENA
LECOINTE-PURRAVAUX, *Secretaries.*

FINIS.

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